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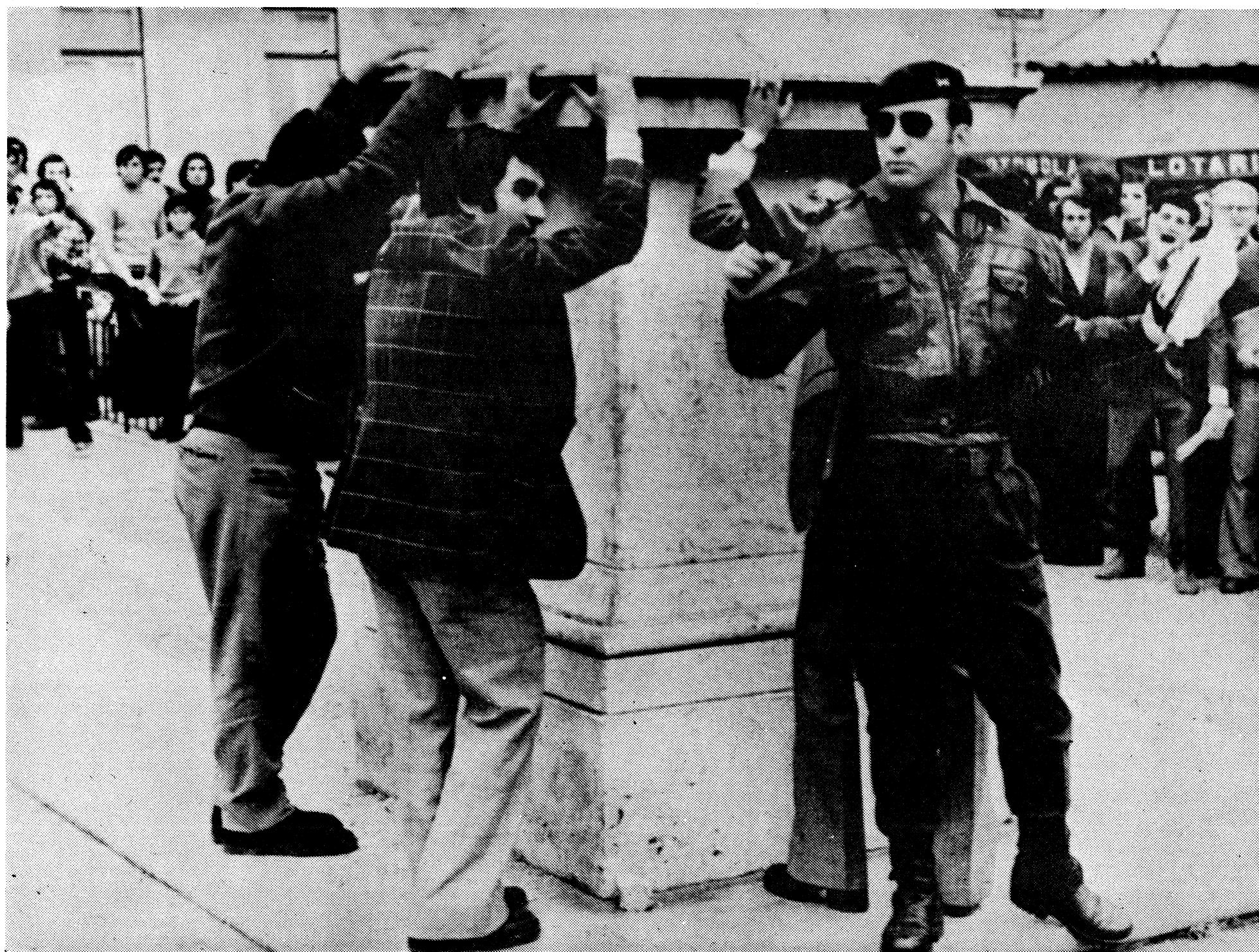
VOLUME 38/NUMBER 18

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Why Portuguese dictatorship fell

— see page 5



Lisbon. Junta soldier protecting hated secret police from angry crowd.

African freedom fighters press for independence/4

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ANTIGAY DEMONSTRATION FLOPS: After being bottled up more than three years in committee by Democratic and Republican politicians in New York's city council, a bill barring discrimination against homosexuals, Intro 2, is finally before the city's legislative body. In response to the predicted passage of this bill, the Uniformed Fire Officers Association, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, and the police began what appeared to be a concerted drive against the civil rights legislation.

The Fire Officers called a mass rally for April 30 in front of city hall, announcing that they expected to draw 5,000 people. Deputy Fire Chief David McCormack admitted that the union spent more than \$10,000 advertising the action.

Only a small handful showed up. No rally took place.

Instead, street corners around city hall between noon and 2 p.m. became the scene for numerous debates between firemen, cops, lunchtime strollers, and others on whether Intro 2 should be adopted.

Firefighters who claimed that the bill would "force an employer to hire a pervert" and "expose our children to the influences of sodomites" were cornered by many supporters of Intro 2 who explained to them the bigotry of their opposition to the bill.

Duncan Ferguson dies, memorial meeting set

Duncan Ferguson, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died in Los Angeles April 29 of cancer. He was 73 years old. A memorial meeting has been set for Tuesday, May 7, at 8 p.m. at 710 S. Westlake Ave. in Los Angeles.

Born and raised in China, Ferguson became a well-known sculptor in this country. He was an art professor at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge until the late 1930s when he left that position and moved to New York to devote his full time to building the Trotskyist movement.

For a time he headed Pioneer Publishers, a predecessor to Pathfinder Press. He was active in the New York local and the Cleveland branch of the SWP before ill health forced him to curtail his activity.

Artist, intellectual, carpenter, and socialist, he was part of a generation that helped to bring the program and tradition of the revolutionary Marxist movement to new generations of socialist youth.

A future issue of The Militant will report more fully on Duncan Ferguson's contributions to the revolutionary movement.

BLACK STUDENTS SIT IN FOR CULTURAL CENTER: Of the 13,000 undergraduate students at the University of Connecticut in Storrs, 600 are Black. These Black students have been demanding that the university recruit more Blacks, provide more financial aid to Black students, and provide a Black cultural center. Another concern of U. of C. students is the research of some behavioral scientists on campus into the genetic influence on intelligence, which many believe would be used to justify racial discrimination.

To get a definite answer to their demands from university President Glenn Ferguson, 219 students, mostly Blacks, occupied the campus Wilbur Cross Library just before it closed at midnight, April 22.

Ferguson called in the state troopers to remove the protesting students from the building early the next morning. All 219 were charged with criminal trespass.

On April 24, 56 more students and four faculty members were arrested when they occupied the library for a second time. These protesters, mostly white, said they were members of a group called the Coalition. One of the demonstrators said they were "white students showing they support the Black students' demands."

They were also charged with criminal trespass.

Ferguson, who claims to agree with the demands of the Black students, said, "I will not negotiate concessions in an atmosphere of intimidation and illegal action."

BLACK SCHOLAR ENDORSES WATERGATE SUIT: The editors of The Black Scholar, Robert Chrisman and Robert Allen, recently endorsed the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is publicizing the lawsuit against Nixon and other government officials filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. In the April issue of The Black Scholar, a letter signed by a number of prominent Black individuals is printed urging others to support the suit.

Also carried in this issue is an article by Militant staff writer Baxter Smith exposing the FBI plot to disrupt and crush the Black liberation movement.

This article, along with the FBI memos proving the

government plot, has just been published by Pathfinder Press in the pamphlet *Secret Documents Exposed: FBI Plot Against the Black Movement*. The pamphlet costs 35 cents and may be ordered by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

BROOKLYN STUDENTS PROTEST BUDGET CUT-BACKS: As New York City Mayor Abraham Beame dedicated \$65-million in new buildings at Brooklyn College April 26, students demonstrated against drastic financial aid cuts.

The demonstration of 100 was called in response to the reduction of funds in the Educational Opportunity Grant and SEEK programs. These cuts would particularly affect Black and Puerto Rican students.

This was the third demonstration organized by Brooklyn College students to fight reductions in financial aid, counselling services, reductions in the budgets of the Black and Puerto Rican Studies Departments, and the threat of tuition. Brooklyn College is part of the City University of New York, which is tuition free.

Groups participating in the Ad Hoc Committee to Fight the Budget Cuts include the Dar Ul Islam Muslims, the Umoja Society, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

WISCONSIN TEACHERS FIGHT UNION-BUSTING: A strike by public school teachers in the rural community of Hortonville, Wis., (population 1,500) is in its seventh week. The strike began when the 84 teachers of the Hortonville Education Association (HEA) refused to begin their fifteenth month of work without a new contract.

A week after they struck, all 84 were fired and replaced with scab instructors, mostly substitutes and retirees.

Teachers from across the state responded by helping to build large picket lines in front of the school. At this point, Wisconsin Governor Patrick Lucey was considering sending in the National Guard to "help maintain order" and better convoy the scab teachers.

More than 1,200 teachers from around Wisconsin gathered April 29 at the state capitol in Madison demanding the immediate reinstatement of the "Hortonville 84." The rally was called by the Wisconsin Education Association.

This strike, which has received major media coverage in Wisconsin, is seen as a test for all public employees in the state, who are denied the right to strike. Already, there are reports that several school boards have broken off negotiations with their teachers, following the brazen example of their Hortonville counterparts.

CHICAGOANS PUSH FOR PASSAGE OF ERA: The week of April 14-21 was "ERA Week" in Illinois, a week devoted to activity for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The week's events were coordinated by ERA Central, a Chicago-based coalition of feminist, labor, political, and other organizations.

On April 16 there was a spirited noon rally in the Loop, Chicago's business district, demanding the immediate passage of the ERA. More than 200 people participated in the action.

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60,000 prepared to strike

L.A. workers force concessions with threat of countywide shutdown

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—Union officials and Los Angeles County administrators moved with haste to arrive at a contract agreement to avert a countywide shutdown scheduled to begin April 29. Announcement of the terms came as 60,000 unionized county employees girded for what would have been the biggest strike action yet seen here.

Sparked into action by the rampant inflation, and inspired by the strike of municipal workers in San Francisco in March, county workers displayed a new militancy.

For the first time here, seven unions of county workers entered into a negotiating coalition. At mass membership meetings of Service Employees Inter-

Walter Lippmann is a shop steward and state executive board member in Social Services Union Local 535.

national Union (SEIU) Local 660 and Local 535, more than 9,000 members turned out and voted in their overwhelming majority to strike.

Unnerved by the prospect of a crippling shutdown, county authorities upped their wage offer from 5 percent to 7.5 percent and added some additional improvements and benefits.

Equally unnerved, the top officials of the union coalition acted behind the backs of a specially created negotiating structure to accept the agreement and avoid the shutdown.

Fully aware of the mood of the workers, they refused to call membership meetings to vote on the terms of the proposed settlement. Instead they canceled the scheduled walkout and announced that the membership vote on the county offer would be conducted by a mail ballot.

The pressure of the threatened strike and the clearly manifest militancy and solidarity of the workers forced the county to grant concessions beyond what they originally had intended. The union brass knew, however, that in spite of these concessions, if membership meetings were held, the offer might very well have been rejected and the strike would have been under way.

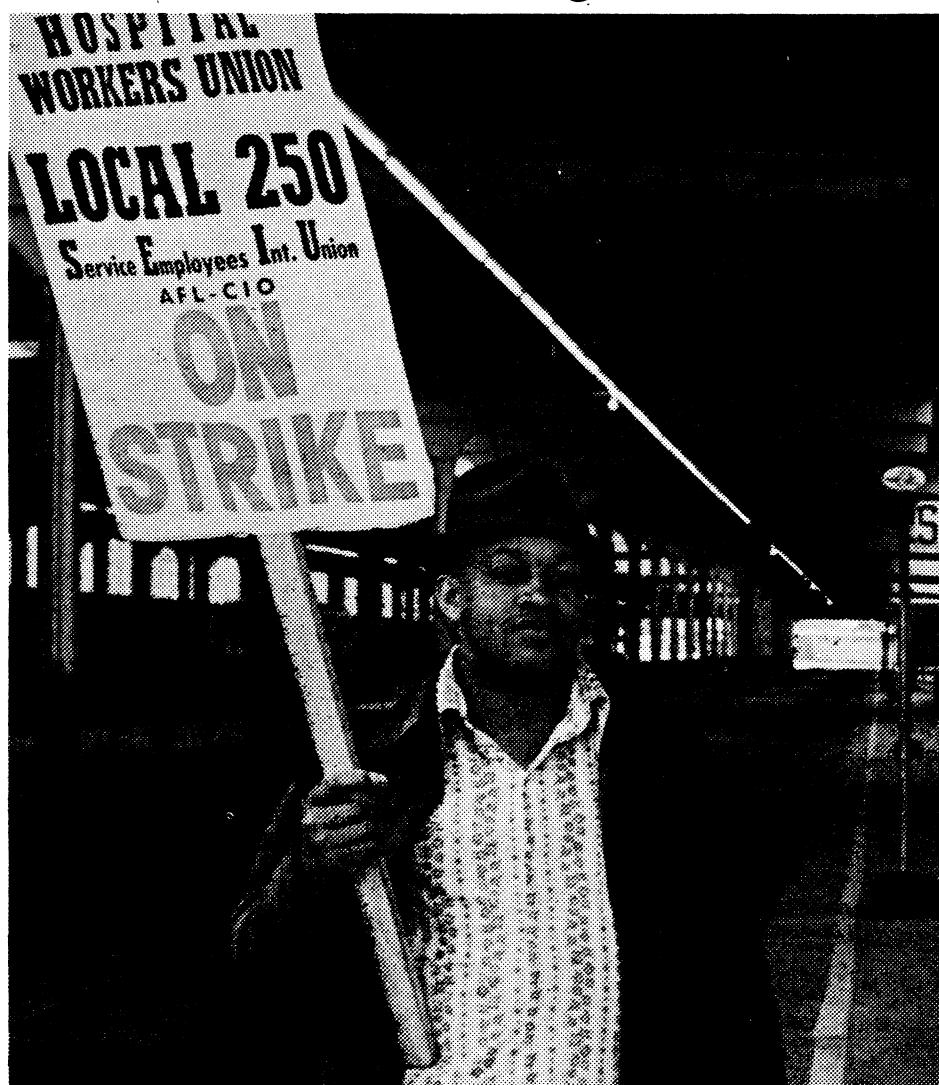
For example, at the time they announced the shutdown was off, a meeting of the hospital workers had already been slated. Despite announcements that the meeting was canceled, several thousand workers turned out. When union officials reported the terms of the proposed settlement, they were booted off the platform, and the meeting ended in pandemonium.

Gains, but not enough

While certain gains were registered with the county offer, the workers felt—and rightly so—that the wage increase was nowhere near enough to catch up with the price rises of the past year, not to speak of the bigger increases they know lie ahead.

And many workers were convinced by the San Francisco experience that if just the threat of a strike was enough to win a few concessions out of the county, a shutdown of even a few days' duration could

As in San Francisco, it can be said that because of an inadequate leadership, the workers didn't get as much as they could or should have. But they got more than they would have if the county had not been shaken by their display of militancy.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Picket at empty East Bay Terminal during San Francisco city employees' strike in March.

And, as in San Francisco, this display of militancy struck a responsive chord among unionists generally. This was confirmed when the staid AFL-CIO County Federation of Labor voted to sanction the strike. This meant that if the walkout occurred, the strike would have quickly spread beyond the county workers. Other unionists would have respected the appearance of picketers and would have

At the height of preparation for the strike by Los Angeles County workers an election was held among the 2,583 nurses employed in the county hospital system.

Unofficial results reveal that the nurses voted to drop representation by the California Nurses Association, a 'professional' group, and to replace it with the Los Angeles County Employees Association, Local 660 of the SEIU.

walked off the job the way the transport workers and others did in San Francisco.

Veterans of the labor and radical movement here agree that this has been the most significant display of labor militancy in Los Angeles since the big strike battles at the close of World War II.

Significance of public workers

Several things make this newly organized layer of unionists a significant addition to the ranks of organized labor. One is simply the enormous growth in the number of public workers—79,000 in Los Angeles County alone!

Another is the varied social composition of the workers involved. Among them are Blacks and Chicanos, who

suffer racial discrimination along with economic exploitation. Like everywhere else in this society, the hardest, dirtiest, lowest-paid jobs are invariably reserved for them.

The same thing holds true of women, who constitute a large part of the county work force. There is increasing consciousness among them, sparked by the women's movement, that sex discrimination is a key factor in county wage inequities.

And among these workers are significant numbers who have come to their county jobs from the campuses, and bring the spirit of campus radicalism into the unions.

Negotiations with the county had dragged out for months. The county began by offering no wage increase at all and demanding to strip the new contract of dozens of past provisions that protected workers from arbitrary changes and disciplinary measures by county officials.

Collective bargaining has existed for L.A. County employees only since 1970. At that time, a strike by welfare workers won the passage of a state law permitting public employees to set up collective bargaining procedures.

As the negotiations bogged down, union officials, taking up the San Francisco model, brought together several hundred union activists representing a cross-section of the county departments and all unions to set up a Coalition of County Unions (CCU). A steering committee was formed with 72 rank-and-file members and seven officials.

The CCU set a tentative strike deadline of April 29. They declared, for the first time, that unions would refuse to reach an agreement with the county until all bargaining unions had settled. They also stated that in the event of a strike, all unions would respect

the pickets of any that went out.

Union officials leaned heavily on the spirit generated by the San Francisco strike. The latest issue of *Service Employees*—the SEIU newspaper—featuring pictures and stories about San Francisco was widely distributed. Social Services Union Local 535 (SEIU) issued a special leaflet on the example of San Francisco.

The county supervisors added fuel to the fire. Their \$37,615 per year salaries are increased on a cost-of-living formula, yet they at first refused any wage hike at all!

Also, they insisted on deleting hard-won gains from the new contract. For instance, they wanted to delete provisions relating to welfare work loads.

They also sought to delete numerous other contract provisions regulating employees' benefits so that workers couldn't use the grievance procedure to resolve disputes on these issues.

One union negotiator expressed it this way: "The county has for too long shown its contempt for us as employees. It's time we showed our contempt for them as employers."

By April 25, the board of supervisors raised its offer to between 7 and 8 percent or \$50 per month, whichever was greater. They dropped all the provocative changes they had insisted on in the new contract and conceded certain other demands. A dental plan will be established in one year. Medical coverage will be improved.

One particularly important concession, affecting welfare workers, was the county's agreement to hire an additional 1,000 eligibility workers by July 1. This would mean that no eligibility worker would have more cases than the official yardstick, as so many workers now have.

In addition, they agreed to begin negotiating the reduction of welfare case loads within 90 days of the start of the agreement.

The fighting spirit of San Francisco was very much manifest here these past weeks. It didn't reach its full potential, but the impact will remain, and we can be confident that it will spread to other places as well.

Inspired by SF

An organizing leaflet by Social Services Union Local 535 indicates the impact of the San Francisco municipal strike on workers in Los Angeles. Following are excerpts from the leaflet.

The S.F. Welfare Department was 85% shut down in the widespread strike, the largest . . . since the San Francisco general strike of all workers (not just government employees) in 1934.

The *L.A. Times* commented that the strike could start a chain reaction across the nation by workers demanding wage increases to keep up with the soaring cost of living—up 10% from a year ago. . . . Before the strike was over, the city tripled its offer. . . .

But more is involved in the struggle than wages and cost of living problems. Welfare and Clerical Workers are poorly paid in part because of sex discrimination. . . .

Isn't it about time for welfare workers of Los Angeles County to get the idea about how to deal with mind-breaking case loads and low pay?

Portugal's 13-year war in Africa

By BAXTER SMITH

Legend has it that it took from 1446, the year Portuguese seaman Nuno Tristão first splashed ashore at Guinea to take slaves, until 1915 before any Portuguese could safely settle in Guinea's interior because of fierce resistance from the native population.

Today, resistance not only in Guinea, but in Angola and Mozambique as well, to Portuguese colonial rule—the oldest European rule in Africa—proved to be largely responsible for the military take-over in Portugal last week.

For the past 13 years, Portugal has fought a war against guerrillas determined to break its hold over African lands. General António de Spínola, the junta's spokesman, felt that Lisbon could not win militarily and should seek a compromise "solution." After participating in the leadership of Lisbon's colonial wars for years, he wrote in a sensational book, *Portugal and the Future*, that the negative effects of the wars on Portuguese society outweighed the benefits of direct colonization for Portugal's rulers.

Indeed, war-primed inflation and



Angola coffee workers. Coffee is one of Angola's main exports.

multiplying war expenditures snagged Portugal's economy and fostered a spate of domestic problems, including widespread opposition to the wars. According to the April 26 *New York Times*, revulsion over the wars led 100,000 young Portuguese to become draft resisters.

'Overseas provinces'

Portugal euphemistically calls its African colonies "overseas provinces." In addition to Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau on the continent, Portugal has island colonies off the African coast—São Tomé, Príncipe, and the Cape Verde islands.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Angola and Guinea provided a vital source of slaves for

the Portuguese empire; an estimated three million Angolans were traded into slavery.

Angola, with 5.8 million people—750,000 of them white—is the richest and largest of Portugal's colonies.

Exports from Angola, which is twice the size of Texas, include coffee, sugar, tobacco, corn, sisal, and wax. Diamonds are also an important export, and \$15-million to \$20-million worth of diamonds are extracted each year.

Gulf Oil has a major drilling operation in the Cabinda enclave, just north of Angola proper. It has some \$200-million tied up in the operation and made a reported \$70-million there last year.

Fighting in Angola began in 1961. Three organizations—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—have engaged 50,000 Portuguese troops in a guerrilla war.

In Mozambique, about 70,000 Portuguese troops have been fighting FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front). Just recently, according to the April 1 *Newsweek*, Lisbon had to airlift 10,000 troops from Angola to aid those in Mozambique because the conflict there had grown so intense.

Armed struggle broke out in Mozambique, a country of close to nine million people—220,000 whites—in 1964.

Mozambique lacks the mineral resources of Angola, but its hydroelectric potential is immense. An international business consortium is building Africa's second largest dam, the Cabo Bassa, over a section of the Zambezi River in the northwestern part of the country. The dam will have a capacity of 18 billion kilowatt-hours and could supply the electric power needs for much of southern Africa.

Upon its completion, the Portuguese had hoped to settle one million whites in the area. The dam has been the focus of FRELIMO attacks.

Mozambique lies adjacent to Rhodesia and provides that land-locked white-settler state with its closest route to the sea. A major rail line from Rhodesia to the Mozambique port city of Beira has often been the target of FRELIMO assaults. Twelve such attacks have been reported this year, and FRELIMO claims to have wrested three of the country's eight districts from Portuguese control.

Since the coup, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith has been keeping a close watch on developments in Mozambique. Rhodesian guerrillas reportedly have sometimes used Mozambique as a jump-off point for forays into Rhodesia.

The South African government is also keeping an ear to the ground.

Guerrillas demand independence

The Portuguese junta's spokesman, General António de Spínola, has said the junta opposes an immediate cease-fire in its wars in Africa.

Spínola also opposes independence for the colonies, and instead calls for a federation of the African territories to achieve what he says will be "self-determination." He has said that even this "self-determination" will require a long period of preparation.

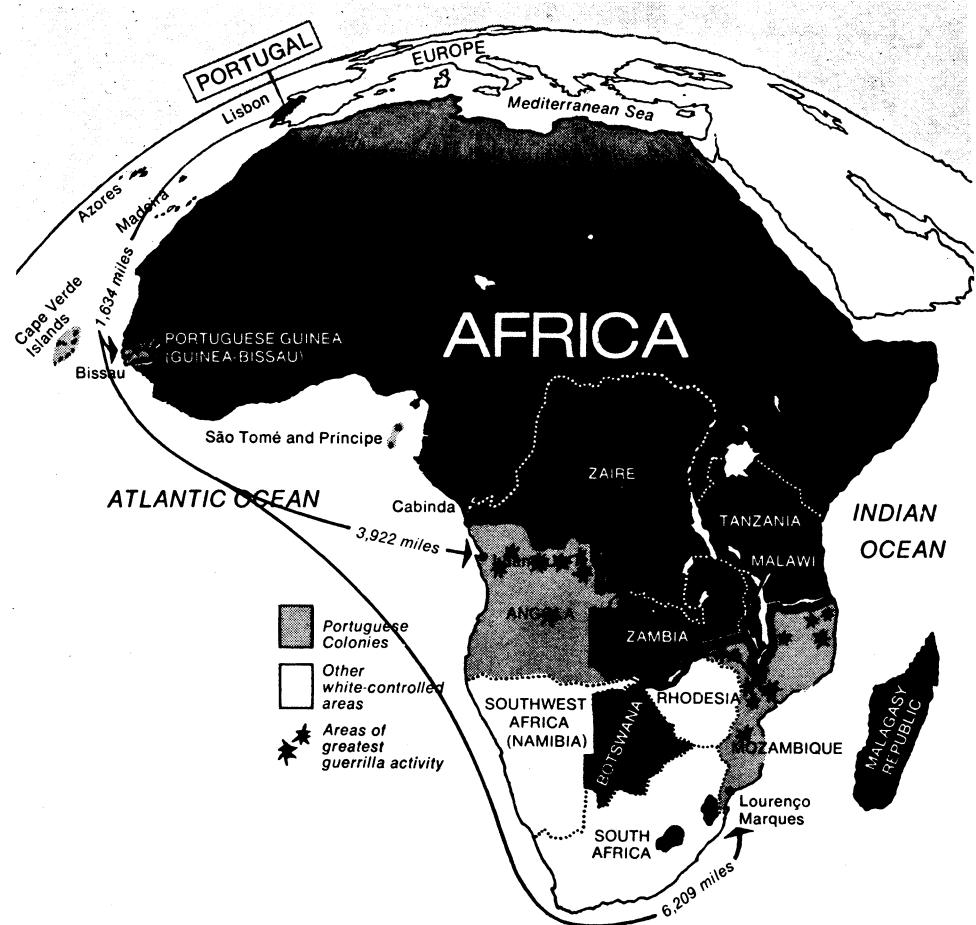
In 1973 he advocated "a Guinea administered fundamentally by its own sons within a Portuguese community."

PAIGC leaders have termed Spínola's

plans totally unacceptable and are demanding a total withdrawal of Portuguese troops and full independence for Guinea-Bissau.

Luis Cabral, brother of slain PAIGC leader Amílcar Cabral, said: "Spínola talks a lot and he has been known to make a lot of promises. But we know that the only language he listens to comes from the guns of our forces hitting him and hitting him again."

In Angola, an MPLA statement declared, "This coup of generals aims only at perpetuating the exploitation of the Angolan people under another form."



South Africa shares a 300-mile border with Mozambique and each year imports thousands of Mozambicans into South Africa to work as contract laborers in the gold and diamond mines.

Concern was evident in the apartheid country when, within two days of the coup, a 9 percent decline in the gold share index was registered.

PAIGC

Of the three mainland colonies, the resistance movement in Guinea-Bissau has made the most gains.

The PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands), which leads the movement there, claims to control nearly three-quarters of the countryside of the largely swampy, triangular nation that is half the size of Maine. The Portuguese, though, still control the towns.

According to *New York Times* reporter Thomas Johnson, who recently made a trip into rebel-held territory, PAIGC operates 122 schools, 117 health centers, 16 hospitals, and 17 trading centers.

Johnson writes, "I saw considerable evidence of the people's support for the African army. Repeatedly as our party traveled through the jungle, men and women came from nearby villages with food for us."

He says the PAIGC has 10,000 troops, one-third the size of the Portuguese army stationed in the country.

Last September, PAIGC announced that the nation of 600,000 was declaring its independence from Portugal. Since then, the rebel government has been recognized by 82 countries.

Demoralization

"Portugal's efforts to preserve her overseas territories produced a steady demoralization that eroded the country's political and social stability and led to today's coup. . . ." wrote Henry Giniger in the April 26 *New York Times*.

But for all the demoralization and pessimism that spurred the coup d'état in Portugal, among the whites in its African colonies, it is much worse.

Writing in the April 20 Johannesburg *Star*, Wilf Nussey, one of its editors, has this to say about the Portuguese colonists in Mozambique:

"Morale in Mozambique has sunk to its lowest level since the war began

there ten years ago. Behind the confident official mask, depression permeates almost every corner of society, from troops fighting guerrillas in the north to shopkeepers in Lourenço Marques.

"So widespread is insecurity that many non-African Mozambicans are making contingency plans to emigrate. . . ."

"In all the time I have known Mozambique, since just before Frelimo attacked, I have never seen such despondency. . . ."

Nussey reports: "Among the conscripts from Portugal I detect a growing lassitude, a reluctance to take the initiative or do more than they have to, until their time is up and they can get out of this raw, inhospitable African bush."

One depressed lieutenant told him, "The men are full up of war and Portugal is full of men who have lost legs and arms for a place we are going to lose one day anyway."

May 25 protest

General António de Spínola's vow to keep Portugal in Africa is a strong reason for building the broadest and largest possible African Liberation Day protests on May 25.

International opposition to Portugal's wars, no doubt, played a role in spurring the coup. And African Liberation Day can have the effect of stepping up the pressure by demanding that Portugal totally withdraw from Africa and that there be no U.S. support to Portugal's war effort.

In an interview in the May *Young Socialist*, Jorge Debele, the secretary of information of FRELIMO, compares the struggle against U.S. support to Portugal to the struggle against the Vietnam war. He says, "we give a great importance to the role that the American people can play. . . . They can prevent the U.S. government from supporting Portugal. . . ."

"The actions of the American people in opposing the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people was one of the decisive factors in that struggle, along with the struggle of the Indochinese people."

Junta tries to limit changes

Portuguese rejoice at end of dictatorship

By CAROLINE LUND

The overturn of the dictatorship of Marcello Caetano has brought forth a storm of political activity, discussion, and jubilation from the Portuguese people.

The military coup, headed by General António de Spínola, set up a junta that promised the restitution of civil liberties and "general elections for a constituent national assembly," which would "permit the nation to choose freely its own form of social and political life." Another promise of the junta was an end to the colonial wars in Africa, which had eroded the grip of the old regime.

The lifting of the 40-year brutal dictatorship of the late António Salazar, continued by Caetano, opened the floodgates for the feelings and opinions of the masses to be openly expressed for the first time in decades. There was an explosion of long-suppressed hatred for the regime and aspirations for freedom.

The coup "brought the populace suddenly alive," wrote *New York Times* reporter Henry Giniger from Lisbon April 26.

"People who had been noted for timorous apathy massed, marched and



Soldiers in Lisbon after coup

chanted, snatched the suddenly uncensored newspapers as soon as they appeared or strolled with transistor radios at their ears. They showered food and drink on soldiers and gathered into animated discussion groups."

Revolutionary fervor

"The scene had a revolutionary fervor that few Portuguese had ever experienced or could remember," Giniger wrote.

Thousands gathered on the day of the coup outside the barracks where Caetano had retreated, shouting "Assassin!"

On April 26, the day after the coup, General Spínola announced an end to censorship, abolition of the hated security police, freedom of assembly and political association, and freedom

for political prisoners.

Late that afternoon, Giniger reports, "leftist students seized on the new freedom to stage a demonstration starting in the Fossio, Lisbon's most popular square. They marched up the broad Avenida da Liberdade with banners proclaiming power to the workers, the end of capitalist exploitation and colonial wars, free unions and the right to strike."

The following day, a Reuters dispatch reported, about 5,000 people gathered at the Caxias Prison to greet political prisoners as they were released.

On April 28, Giniger reported that "signs are appearing on office buildings announcing new 'free' unions as members ousted governing bodies that had been imposed by the former rulers." Both office workers and railroad workers were organizing new unions.

'Euphoria'

The popular enjoyment of, and thirst for, democratic freedoms in the wake of the coup was so powerful that reporters were also affected by the "euphoria," as they described it.

Carnations, which became the symbol of the coup, were all over Lisbon, wrote *New York Times* reporter Richard Eder. "Women were clutching bunches of them, giving them to everyone they met and especially to the soldiers who stood guard on the downtown streets.

"The soldiers, country boys most of them, with ill-fitting brown uniforms, looked like walking bouquets. They wore carnations in their belts, their buttonholes, their berets. They carried them sprouting from the barrels of their rifles. One soldier assigned to direct traffic on a steep hill leading down to the port, signaled with great sweeping gestures, a bunch of red flowers in each hand."

Describing the people's "almost boisterous good humor and a newly discovered expressiveness," Eder continued:

"Everyone in Lisbon is talking, and what is more—to their own incredulity—talking politics. In the streets, on the squares, a man will hold up a newspaper, another man will look over his shoulder and soon a dozen people are talking like old friends, each trying to tell the other just exactly what was wrong with the authoritarian regime under which the country has lived for more than 40 years."

"You have never seen Portugal like this before," said one government clerk in the midst of a discussion.

In a public square, Eder wrote, "a police sergeant was backed against his squad car, explaining to a group of polite but suspicious students why the police had broken up so many demonstrations in the past."

In another square, "a burned-out car lay smashed, wheels up. A paper sign atop it, hand lettered, read: 'For Sale. Formerly owned by Pide' (the political police which the junta has just abolished). A single carnation waved from the rear axle."

Wariness

But underneath the celebrations in Lisbon there is a growing wariness about whether the junta will live up to its promises.

It is becoming clear to many that the new regime is not as much of a break from the old order as the masses are demanding. In addition to announcing his refusal to grant independence to the African colonies,

Spínola warned that he would use force against the growing mass demonstrations to prevent "anarchy."

Dictator Caetano and his top aides were spirited away from the angry crowds by the junta forces to the resort island of Madeira. *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm Browne described their situation as "living in palatial luxury" and "hoping for the best."

Spínola and the other members of the junta composed the top leadership of the Portuguese armed forces, and their class allegiances are no different from Caetano's. One of Spínola's first military experiences was as commander of a Portuguese volunteer detachment with Franco's fascist army in the Spanish civil war. He later received training with Nazi forces in the siege of Leningrad during World War II.

Also, writes *Times* reporter Richard Eder, the junta will continue to employ secret police and will "try to make use of the technical experience of those agents who have kept their reputations relatively clean." Political prisoners alleged to have committed terrorist acts have not been released.

Wrath at secret police

The secret police force, called the Pide (acronym for International Police for State Defense), has been a special target for the wrath of the Portuguese people.

Under both Salazar and Caetano, this 3,000-strong force was supplemented by thousands of informers who infiltrated schools, factories, offices, and even hospitals. They upheld the dictatorship through a reign of terror and torture.

Since the coup, crowds have stormed buildings where secret police are known to be hiding, demanding vengeance. They have been held off by armed guards of the junta.

Even the Spanish secret police are thought to be somewhat tame compared with the brutality of the Pide, whose apparatus was organized under the tutelage of the Nazi Gestapo in 1934. They operate abroad, among the Portuguese political exiles, as well as internally.

The key issue precipitating the overturn of Caetano was the government's 13-year-long colonial war to maintain dominance over Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. The war was absorbing nearly 40 percent of the government's budget. More and more draft-age youth were refusing to serve in the army, with 50 percent not showing up in the last draft call.

Spurred by military spending, inflation soared to 20 percent last year,



SPINOLA: Trained under Franco and Hitler. Led Portuguese troops in Africa.

exacerbating popular discontent. A *New York Times* dispatch from Lisbon stated, "Opposition forces became increasingly radicalized in their thinking as Communists, Maoists, Trotskyists and Socialists . . . took over from moderate liberals."

Although promising an end to the colonial war, Spínola's junta is not ready to give up dominance over Portuguese colonies in Africa. The general hastened to make a statement that "self-determination should not be confused with independence."

The first pronouncement by the junta had explained its goal as "peace among Portuguese of all races and creeds"—which assumes that the African peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau are "Portuguese."

General Spínola himself came to prominence as a hero of the colonial war for more than a decade, leading Portuguese troops in their brutal campaign against the African rebel forces. Concluding that Portugal does not have the resources to win the wars, Spínola favors what the imperialists call a more "enlightened" form of dominance over the colonies—that is, a more disguised form.

Spínola proposes to force Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau to remain within a Portuguese commonwealth. This type of neocolonialism has long since been adopted by the other major imperialist powers. Recognizing this, the *New York Times* welcomed the Spínola coup editorially. The imperialist organ referred to the crude colonial methods of Caetano as an "embarrassment" to other members of the NATO alliance.

Strength of African rebels

But whatever the Portuguese imperialists have in mind, the downfall of Caetano represents an implicit recognition of the strength of the resistance struggle in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. The coup, and the upsurge of the Portuguese masses, are bound to encourage the struggle both inside Portugal and in Africa, against any form of imperialist domination and for complete independence.

Furthermore, the coup will give inspiration to Blacks in South Africa and Rhodesia, whose white-supremacist regimes have in the past maintained a joint command with Portuguese troops against the rebels in all three countries. And the granting of democratic rights inside Portugal will have important repercussions in neighboring Spain as well.



Crowds celebrating downfall of Caetano dictatorship.

Behind the Oval Office doors: conspiracy, cover-up, cynicism

By LEO STANFORD

When Nixon and the other crooks he hangs around with in the White House get together, they don't use words like "truth," "patriotism," "justice," or "democracy." These phrases are strictly for public consumption.

In private, they are replaced with a string of racial slurs, sexist epithets, and insults so vile that they have been excised from the "transcripts" of White House conversations released April 30.

But even so, the printed versions of these conversations are damning. For one thing, they tear gaping holes in the mystical shroud that still envelopes "the Presidency," even after two years of Watergate. Behind the shroud, the men meeting in the Oval Office are simply a gang of liars, invoking "executive privilege" and "national security" to cover up their crimes.

'Edited for good taste'

In a statement accompanying the documents, the White House said that "expletives" had been "omitted in the interest of good taste, except where necessary to depict accurately the context of the conversation." Also deleted were "characterization of third persons, in fairness to them, and other material not relating to the President's conduct."

The documents are studded with bracketed phrases such as "[expletive deleted]," "[characterization deleted]," and conveniently located notations of "[inaudible]," "[unintelligible]," and "[material unrelated to Presidential actions deleted]."

Unnamed "sources" told *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward that "the most offensive language in the tapes had been excised as 'irrelevant' by the President."

"These portions, the sources said, are known to contain prolonged, vituperative, verbal attacks on individuals, including some remark that White House officials fear might be interpreted as anti-Semitic."

There can be no doubt that the editing was done not only to eliminate damaging epithets, but to paint the president in the best possible light vis-à-vis impeachment. Referring to Nixon's contention that "I know what I meant," one White House official said: "The House wants to know what he said, and the President wants to tell them what he meant . . . or what he meant to say."

Because the transcripts became available only shortly before *Militant* press time, a detailed analysis of their contents will have to wait for a future



NIXON: [expletive deleted]

issue. But a few passages of particular interest stand out.

The tapes leave no doubt that Nixon was a chief architect of the cover-up. The frequent vigorous denials by Nixon of his own involvement are belied by his participation in detailed discussions of how to continue the cover-up. Take this excerpt from the March 21 meeting, for example.

Dean has been talking about the need to continue paying off the Watergate burglars for their silence. He is nervous about what happens if "this thing ever blows."

Nixon: Sure. The whole concept of Administration justice. Which we cannot have!

Dean: That is what really troubles me. For example, what happens if it starts breaking, and they do find a criminal case against a Haldeman, a Dean, a Mitchell, an Ehrlichman? That is—

Nixon interrupts: If it really comes down to that, we would have to [unintelligible] some of the men.

Dean: That's right. I am coming down to what I really think, is that Bob and John and John Mitchell and I can sit down and spend a day, or however long, to figure out one, how this can be carved away from you, so that it does not damage you or the Presidency. It just can't. You are not involved in it and it is something you shouldn't—

Nixon: That is true!

Dean: I know, sir. I can just tell from our conversations that these are things that you have no knowledge of.

Nixon: You certainly can! Buggings, etc!

The Huston spy plan

One area that the "transcripts" shed new light on is the status of the 1970 secret spy plan drawn up by Tom Charles Huston. Nixon claims that this admittedly illegal plan was never implemented. He says that FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover objected to the plan,



DEAN: 'I can just tell these are things you have no knowledge of, sir.'

Rallies urge Congress to impeach president

The growing momentum for impeachment of Nixon produced demonstrations in Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Los Angeles on April 27. An estimated 10,000 people held a march and rally in the capital, organized by the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon (NCIN).

The NCIN, whose goal is to pressure Congress to impeach the president, is supported by a variety of radical and liberal groups. Among them are the Communist Party; the War Resisters League; the New American Movement; several Maoist groups, including the Revolutionary Union and the *Guardian* newspaper; and several Democratic Party politicians, including Bella Abzug and Ron Dellums.

Speakers at the Washington rally included Dave Dellinger, Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization, Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers, Representative Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), Carol Kitchens of the NCIN, and Herbert X Blyden of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense committee.

The demonstration in Los Angeles, organized under the slogan "Unite Against Nixon," drew 2,000. In Chicago, 1,000 marched to "Throw the Bum Out."

Many of the participants, especially in Washington and Los Angeles, were interested in the campaign materials and other socialist literature displayed by supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidates. Socialist



Washington, D.C., impeachment demonstration.

literature tables were very popular, and more than 500 copies of *The Militant* and 260 of the *Young Socialist* newspaper were sold to demonstrators.

Many expressed agreement with the socialist view that impeachment presents no solution to the problems confronting the American people. What is needed is a movement that can end the *bipartisan policies* that are designed to protect the rule of a tiny minority.

To bring an end to the government of secrecy, lies, repression, and corruption, we need the replacement not of Nixon by Ford, but the replacement of rule by the minority of exploiters—the capitalists—with rule by the majority—the working class and Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

Nixon loses more ground

Impeachment drive moves toward finale

By LARRY SEIGLE

First there are pictures of one of those mammoth moving vans, backed up to a rear entrance of the White House, while brawny men load the van with the Nixon family possessions....

Then the cameras swing to the front portico of the White House, the great doors open, and the familiar, ungainly figure of the ruined President appears, with his wife at his side. The ex-President stops on the portico for a "few last words": "My fellow Americans... peace... great country... God bless America and God bless you all..."

Newsweek columnist Stewart Alsop, the author of the above scenario, claims it is "unlikely" it will become a reality. But as the Watergate events continue to unfold, the scene looks more and more probable. The evidence is that the rulers of this country have made up their minds to go through with the impeachment of Nixon.

A survey of Congress by the Chicago Sun-Times found that "more than a majority of the House either believes President Nixon should be impeached on currently available evidence or is leaning toward an impeachment vote."

'Die is cast'

Wilbur Mills (D-Ark) declared, "There is no doubt in my mind that there are enough votes for the articles of impeachment in the House." Says Republican Senator Charles Percy of Illinois: the "die is pretty much now cast."

Working to soothe the concerns of those who fear that impeachment might disrupt U.S. diplomatic relations, the New York Times published a survey of opinion abroad compiled by its foreign correspondents. "Many foreign leaders have concluded that President Nixon will probably have to leave office because of his Watergate-related problems," summed up Bernard Gwertzman in the April 20 Times.

"Although the possibility of his departure has aroused concern in some countries, the correspondents reported, leading figures in many capitals are already resigned to a change in the White House and do not expect a marked shift in American foreign pol-

FBI memos on Black mov't

Due to the broad interest in the recently released FBI documents on "disrupting" and "neutralizing" the Black movement, The Militant has made available a reprint of material from our March 22 issue.

The reprint includes the article "FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement" and the partially censored FBI documents outlining the COINTELPRO operations against Black leaders and groups such as the Black Panther Party.

The reprint is four Militant-sized pages. The cost of bulk orders is:

4¢ each for 500 or more

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JUDICIARY COMMITTEE'S HUTCHINSON, HUNGATE & RODINO: Looking to impeachment as best way out for capitalist rulers.

icy as a result," Gwertzman wrote.

Even the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin, who have until now stood steadfastly by the side of the Mad Bomber in the White House, are preparing for a changing of the guard in Washington. "Publicly they still support the President and accuse his critics of being against improved relations, but privately they appear to be weighing alternatives and are saying that détente is not based on individuals," the Times reported.

Bipartisan foreign policy

Decision-makers in capitals around the world understand quite well one point many Americans, including some of those who consider themselves radicals, are confused about: the foreign policy of American imperialism is essentially bipartisan, backed by both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Joseph Harsch, writing in the April 26 Christian Science Monitor under the subhead "Presidents may come, presidents may go . . ." points out that there "has been substantial continuity in American foreign policy ever since World War II."

Harsch notes that "the evidence is by this time conclusive that a change from Richard Nixon to Gerald Ford would cause almost negligible change in U.S. foreign policies. . . ."

"The reconciliation with China, the détente with the Soviet Union, and the search for a stable peace in the Middle East are all substantially bipartisan."

The continuity of imperialist policy favoring détente as a means of dampening and containing the world revolution was further underlined by Senator Edward Kennedy's well-publicized campaign tour to Moscow.

Brezhnev went out of his way to show that he understands bipartisan politics very well. He extended the Democratic presidential contender a four-hour private meeting. "Normally only heads of government or big delegations get so much of the 67-year-old General Secretary's time," observed the New York Times Moscow correspondent Hedrick Smith. ". . . President Nixon's deepening Watergate problems have no doubt given the Soviet leaders greater than normal interest in talking with prominent Democrats."

Impeachment on TV?

In Washington, the focus of discussion has shifted from whether to impeach, to how it should be done. One question being debated in the capitalist press is whether the proceedings should be televised. The American peo-

ple are looking forward to seeing the impeachment debate for themselves. "This is the show of the century," said one historian. "It belongs to the public. They elected President Nixon, and they have every right to observe what happens to him."

But some powerful ruling-class voices are raised on the other side. James Reston, senior pundit at the New York Times, recently devoted two columns to explaining why live TV coverage would weaken the "orderly system of the American Government."

This is a time, Reston argues, "for doing whatever keeps the emotional level down and maintains as calm and judicial an atmosphere as possible, so that members of Congress can vote on the evidence rather than responding to the pressures. . . ."

Reston is concerned that TV coverage might encourage people to think that it is up to them, not to the Congress, to decide whether Nixon stays or goes. He reminds the Times readers that the impeachment mechanism is not a democratic referendum, but a procedure left solely to Congress.

This may be "undemocratic," Reston concedes, but "it was the assumption of the Founding Fathers that the people were sovereign in deciding between candidates for President and Congress, but that most things were too complicated in a vast continental country to be decided by referendum or popular vote."

The task now is to let this system "work as objectively as possible, without turning the Capitol into a stadium. . . ."

Narrowing the focus'

Cranking up the impeachment machinery also involves refining the charges Nixon will be faced with. Last week the legal staff of the House Judiciary Committee narrowed its list of potential charges from 56 to 37.

But of those remaining, many are likely to be axed at a future date. For example, the Nixon administration's use of secret police against White House "enemies" is still on the list. But it is highly unlikely that the impeachment proceedings will bring to light even a small part of the illegal surveillance and harassment carried out under the Nixon administration.

As John Pierson explains in the April 26 Wall Street Journal, "the committee may be reluctant to try to bring Mr. Nixon to court in the Senate on a charge of ordering the White House 'plumbers' and other agents to spy on U.S. citizens unfriendly to his administration. . . ."

"Deplorable as such acts may be, says one source close to the committee, the panel would probably have a hard time countering Mr. Nixon's claims that national security necessitated some, if not all, of them."

In other words, the committee doesn't want to impeach Nixon for crimes of which the Democrats have been equally guilty. Because the Judiciary Committee, like the entire Congress, is made up of those who accept the need to defend the "national security"—meaning the security of capitalist rule—they are not inclined to press too hard on the undemocratic methods of rule that Watergate has brought to light.

Nixon's last tapes

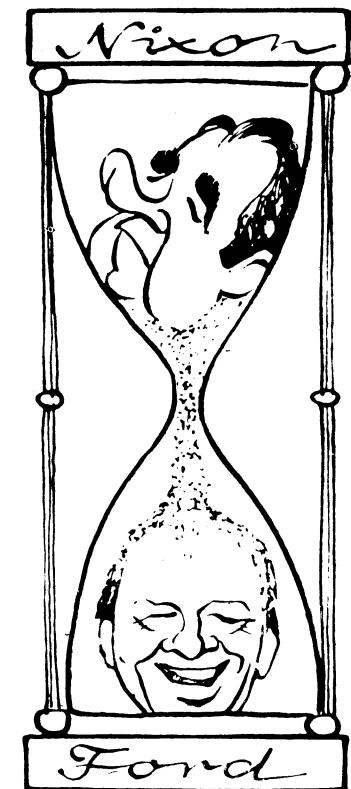
Given the growing consensus among the capitalist rulers favoring an impeachment trial as the best way to cover up what Watergate has exposed about the fraud of American "democracy," it is unlikely that Nixon's latest countermoves can turn things around.

His release of laundered "transcripts" of White House conversations may only hasten the impeachment. According to reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, Nixon was warned against his course by senior Republicans of both houses and his own impeachment lawyer, James St. Clair. These advisers told Nixon that his action "will increase the likelihood that—if not for other reasons—he will be impeached for failing to comply fully with the House subpoena."

Nor is the victory scored by administration forces in the side battle of the Mitchell-Stans trial likely to change many votes in Washington.

In fact, the whole impeachment effort is taking on a more and more bipartisan complexion. Nixon flunky Dean Burch ventured out to speak to the Republican National Committee. Lou Cannon reported in the April 27 Washington Post that the party officials "politely applauded the promise that the White House would turn over the long-awaited evidence to the [House Judiciary] committee. But the national committee sat in complete silence when Burch proclaimed that the President and the party were tied together by bonds of loyalty that could not be separated."

After this icy response, Burch hastily dropped from his speech some of the more boisterous phrases in the prepared text, including the call for "a new Republican majority to be built" and the claim that "our candidates can run as Nixon Republicans and they can win as Nixon Republicans."



New gains for community slate

N.Y. District 1 campaign intensifies

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—The largest union in New York City has endorsed the pro-community-control slate for school board in Manhattan's District 1.

District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), representing more than 120,000 municipal workers, has joined a growing list of supporters of the Por los Niños (For the Children) slate in the May 14 election.

Ninety-three percent of the students in District 1 are Puerto Rican, Black, or Chinese. The Por los Niños slate was screened and endorsed by the presidents of the parent associations in the Lower East Side district.

The nine candidates (five Puerto Ricans, two Blacks, one Chinese, and one white) are being opposed by a predominantly white slate, the "Brotherhood" slate, endorsed by the racist leadership of the United Federation of Teachers. Albert Shanker is president of the UFT.

James Wechsler, an editor of the *New York Post*, indicating a favorable attitude to the Por los Niños slate, wrote in a recent column: "Last December Federal Judge Charles E. Stewart Jr., in a notable, comprehensive and inadequately heralded opinion, overturned the victory of the UFT-backed slate in the last balloting [May 1, 1973] because of widespread irregularities."

Wechsler went on to add: "I talked with four of them [Por los Niños candidates] the other day, and the seriousness and responsibility of their words bear no resemblance to the stereotypes of 'far-out extremists'—or worse—that may soon be applied to them by UFT mimeograph machines."

Dr. Benjamin Spock, former presidential candidate of the People's Party and noted author and pediatrician, endorsed the community slate in a letter in which he said of the District 1 parents, "They are the ones who know what their children are getting and what they are not getting."

Other prominent endorsers include Luis Olmedo, city councilman from Brooklyn; César Perales, Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund; Nat Hentoff, columnist for the *Village Voice*; Don Hazen of People Against Racism in Education; and Yolanda Sánchez, director of City College Puerto Rican studies.

In addition, two dozen teachers and paraprofessionals from District 1 have signed a letter endorsing the community-control slate. The letter reads: "Although we do not necessarily agree



SPOCK: Supports Por los Niños slate

with all the views of these candidates, we feel their actions and program speak to the needs of both teachers and students. . . . We call on all members of the UFT to support the Por los Niños slate."

Por los Niños has drawn broader support and endorsement than the previous community slates in District 1 elections.

The struggle during the past year against the Shankerite board has often focused the eyes of the city on District 1. Increasing sympathy has been registered for the struggle of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities against racism in the schools and for a direct say in the education of their children. Many New Yorkers have been repelled by the repeated racist attacks on the Lower East Side parents and students by Shanker and the city government.

Until just recently, the Shankerite slate had done virtually no campaigning for the May 14 election. They claimed for several weeks to be awaiting the results of the appeal by the city and the UFT challenging the ousting of the board illegally elected last May.

On April 24, the U.S. Court of Appeals affirmed the ousting of the board, and shortly afterward the first campaign leaflet from the Shankerite "Committee for Effective Education" was seen in the district. It said: "Just imagine what our schools could be. . . . If only we had a school superintendent who did not divide our community. You have the power to make the schools what we all want them to be. VOTE BROTHERHOOD!"

The "divisive" school superintendent referred to in this leaflet is Luis Fuentes, whose pro-community-con-

trol views long ago earned Shanker's disdain. Shanker has tried to whip up a hysteria among teachers and the white residents, painting Fuentes as an "extremist," a "racist," and anti-Semitic.

Shanker recently told teacher delegates to a city-wide delegate assembly that he had visited a District 1 school last year and found that "half the teachers had been driven out by Fuentes's henchmen."

Shanker urged the teachers to campaign for the "Brotherhood" slate, adding: "Extremism has been defeated all over the city. There is only one place where the extremists can make a comeback. If the Fuentes supporters win this election, they may be in your school next!"

A teacher spoke against endorsing the "Brotherhood" slate. He called the assembly's attention to the Por los Niños campaign platforms (which had been distributed as the teachers entered), and pointed out that its demands were just and exactly what the schools need. The final vote was about 300 to 50 in favor of Shanker's motion to endorse the "Brotherhood" slate.

James Wechsler's column contained a good summation of Shanker's motives: "Albert Shanker may well feel a large stake in the contest. . . . he has long seen himself as defender of western civilization against what he portrays as the barbarous Fuentes hordes. Envisaging bigger things, per-



Militant/Michael Baumann
'Forward with Fuentes. We will not take a step backwards.'

haps ultimately including the presidency of the AFL-CIO, he will presumably once again heavily invest the union's resources in a feverish crusade. In Shanker's self-absorbed world, the district looms as a test of his power and ambition."

In Shanker's paid column in the April 28 *New York Times*, he goes so far as to say "the future of our city" depends on the election of the UFT-backed slate.

Supporters of the Por los Niños slate are doing everything possible to hand Shanker a defeat on May 14. Tens of thousands of leaflets in English, Spanish, and Chinese have been distributed, the Por los Niños candidates are meeting parents in front of the schools each day, the candidates have discussed the struggle for community control on a number of radio and television programs, and a major push with motorcades, sound trucks, and rallies is planned for the homestretch of the campaign.

Volunteers are urged to go to 34 Avenue B (at Third Street) or call (212) 673-8322. Weekly campaign planning meetings are held each Sunday night at 7:30 p.m. at the same address.

Sears strikers stand firm, talks open in D.C.

By JEFFREY MACKLER

SAN FRANCISCO—The 300 militant strikers of Retail Clerks Local 1100 are standing firm as their battle with the giant conglomerate Sears Corporation enters its ninth month.

A new element in the strike has been the opening of talks in Washington, D.C., under Nixon's chief mediator, William Usery.

Before these talks, Sears refused virtually all negotiations and mediation efforts. Confident that it could crush this small group of stubborn strikers, the Sears national management moved to destroy Local 1100 as they had done with many other unions in past years.

But Sears did not expect Local 1100 to fight back in the manner it has. Local 1100 took a course of action that brought it support from broad sections of the labor movement.

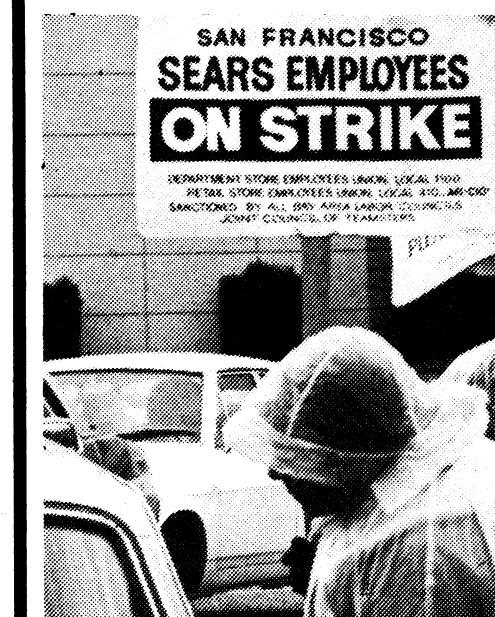
These actions included the calling of meetings of union supporters, regular picket lines, sit-in demonstrations, and an educational campaign geared to win support from other unions.

As the Washington negotiations began, Local 1100 moved to strengthen its picket lines. On April 13, for example, nearly 300 picketers virtually closed down the San Francisco stores.

After nine months it is clear that Local 1100 is still very much alive. Unfortunately, the Sears Strategy Committee, a group of top officials charged by the San Francisco Labor Council with developing an action program to support Local 1100, has sat on its hands since its formation several months ago. Thus, 1100's proposal for a city-wide mass meeting of the labor movement, though adopted by the San Francisco Labor Council, remains unimplemented, while the council finds one excuse after another for inaction.

But the last word on Local 1100's battle is not in.

The mere fact that federal mediation is now in progress is an indication that the strike has had an impact—on Sears and on the rest of the Bay Area labor movement. While 1100's struggle may not now result in a stunning victory, it may very well bring a settlement that recognizes the union and provides the basis for future battles.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Rep. Koch flip-flops on District 1

Congressman Edward Koch, who is being challenged by Socialist Workers Party candidate Katherine Sojourner in the 18th C.D. in Manhattan, has a special talent for coming down on both sides of an issue.

At a "Town Hall" meeting April 25 at the New School for Social Research, the liberal Democrat was asked by a Sojourner campaign supporter if he would endorse the "Por los Niños" slate in the May 14 school board election in District 1, and if he supports the struggle of Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese for community control of the schools in that district.

Koch, making a play for the conservative Jewish vote, replied, "Personally, I think Luis Fuentes is an anti-Semite," reviving an old slander first aired by Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of

Teachers. The slander has been repeated by many Democratic and Republican politicians who want to duck the issue of racism in District 1 schools and the right of the oppressed communities in the Lower East Side to control the education of their children.

Koch qualified his remarks for those in the audience who knew that a commission had cleared Fuentes of this charge months ago. After that, however, apparently thinking the slander is still good for some mileage, he added, "I wouldn't choose Fuentes to be a school superintendent." Then, no doubt with the Puerto Rican vote in mind, Koch said, "But if the parents want him, that is their right."

Sojourner has been an active supporter of the Por los Niños slate—without any double-talk.

Alioto pushes 'Zebra' hysteria

Victory for SF Blacks: court bars dragnet

By MARK ZOLA

SAN FRANCISCO—In a significant victory for the Black community here, a federal district court has ordered the police to halt their wholesale questioning of Black men on San Francisco streets.

The April 25 order by Judge Alfonso Zirpoli ruled the police dragnet unconstitutional. The decision came in response to suits filed by the NA-

ACP and the American Civil Liberties Union.

or killers responsible, the police claim, for the deaths of 12 whites in San Francisco since last November. Hundreds if not thousands of Black men were stopped and harassed during the dragnet.

The court decision came after a week of steadily increasing protest. Group after group spoke out against the racist attack. Black policemen, psychiatrists, and churchmen demanded an end to the "Zebra" operation.

Even a group of Black Alioto appointees, who at first had backed his move, felt compelled to withdraw their support in order to maintain some credibility in the Black community.

'We are not slaves!'

The evening before Judge Zirpoli's ruling, more than 400 people gathered at Glide Memorial Church for a "Rally to Defend Black Men and Women." It was the broadest Black community meeting held in San Francisco in recent years.

Speakers represented the NAACP, Welfare Rights Organization, ACLU, United Black Educational Caucus, Postal Street Academy, Black Panther Party, Officers for Justice, Black Women Organized for Action, San Quentin Six Defense Committee, United Prisoners Union, Delancey Street Foundation, and many other groups.

Aileen Hernandez, former president of the National Organization for Women, and Vic Washington of the San Francisco 49ers football team also spoke. The rally was chaired by teacher activist Yvonne Golden.

Reverend Cecil Williams, delivering the main speech at the rally, said that



Demonstrators hit racist stop-and-search operation by San Francisco cops

AS WE GO TO PRESS: More than 100 heavily armed San Francisco police staged a series of early morning raids May 1 on homes in the Black community. Seven Black men were arrested and charged with murder or conspiracy to commit murder.

Mayor Joseph Alioto, continuing his drive to enflame racist hysteria around the 'Zebra' shootings, declared that the men were part of 'a vicious ring of murderers called the Death Angels' and that 'decapitation and other forms of mayhem bring special credit from the organization for the killers.'

ACP and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The police department announced it will appeal the court order.

The stop-and-search operation had been launched a week earlier by Mayor Joseph Alioto. Its ostensible aim was to catch the so-called Zebra killer



Political Rights Defense Fund news conference links 'Zebra' scare to FBI plots against socialists and Black movement. Left to right: Robert Chrisman, James Lewis, Maceo Dixon.

messages of support had been received from around the country as well as from other parts of the world.

"We demand to be treated as men and women, not as slaves!" Williams told the cheering crowd. He and many other speakers declared that Mayor Alioto was using the "Zebra" killings to try to intimidate the Black community—to brand the community as a whole responsible for the killings and for crime in general.

Other speakers linked the dragnet to recent police attacks on the Black Panther Party in Oakland, the shooting and arrests of members of the Nation of Islam in Berkeley, and the police killing of 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton.

Contrary to Alioto's "crime in the streets" demagogic, it is in fact Black people who walk the streets every day in danger of being assaulted—not by a hypothetical "Zebra" psychopath, but by the racist police force.

PRDF news conference

The same day as the meeting at Glide Church, the Political Rights Defense Fund sponsored a news conference to publicize the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government Watergating.

Speakers were Robert Chrisman, editor of the *Black Scholar*; Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee; and James Lewis, SWP candidate for California controller.

They related the recent exposure of FBI "counterintelligence programs" aimed against Black organizations and socialists to the attacks on the Bay Area Black community, including the "Zebra" operation and the attacks on

the Black Panthers and Black Muslims.

After the police attack on the Muslims last February, a Berkeley police memorandum came to light that urged police to "generate cause for arrest" of Muslims. The speakers at the PRDF news conference demanded that the San Francisco, Berkeley, and Oakland police open their files and reveal all such documents.

The news conference received extensive coverage in the Bay Area media.

Anger over the racist "Zebra" operation is still widespread in the Black community. On April 26—the day after Judge Zirpoli's order—150 Blacks held a militant protest at city hall here demanding, "Cops out of our community!" and "Alioto must go!" The demonstration was organized by the Postal Street Academy, a school for Black youth.

Background of struggle

The response to the "Zebra" dragnet reflected a militancy that had been growing in the Black community over the past several months.

Black parents have spearheaded a campaign against the racist board of education in an effort to improve the quality of their children's education. Board of education meetings have attracted up to 1,000 people.

Black hospital workers were one of the most militant groups in the public employees' strike here in March. In addition, the solidarity shown by the Municipal Railway drivers, most of whom are Black, helped guarantee the effectiveness of the shutdown.

This background of rising struggles also points to the fact that the massive police operation was primarily in-

Continued on page 22

More cop attacks on California Black groups

Harassment of Black groups throughout California has continued with the arrest of four members of the Nation of Islam in Sacramento and 14 members of the Black Panther Party in Oakland.

Two hundred Black people rallied in Sacramento April 26 to protest the arrest of the Muslims. They are charged with murder and attempted murder of several whites shot in late April.

Sacramento cops are trying to present these shootings as having some connection with the so-called Zebra killings in San Francisco. So far not a shred of evidence has been produced to back this up.

The arrested Muslims are Emery Hanson, 25; Russell Lang, 19; Dale McKinney, 24; and Larry Pratt, 19. All are being held without bail.

On April 24 some 300 cops armed with rifles and submachine guns and

wearing bulletproof vests sealed off Oak Park, a predominantly Black section of Sacramento, for six hours. Cops were placed on rooftops surrounding the Nation of Islam's Temple Number 73. Stores and city offices were forced to close down. Hundreds of Blacks came out into the streets to protest this assault.

The April 26 rally was called by the Nation of Islam to protest the arrest of the four brothers and gain support for their defense. A broad cross section of the Black community was represented on the speakers' platform.

The president of the Sacramento NAACP pointed to the Watergate revelations and said that this attack was consistent with other government activity. "Now we see what the government really does," he commented. "We're going to see a lot of these government

officials brought to justice for shooting up all these organizations like the Black Panthers. It's time for a change. It's time for a complete change."

Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee, attended the rally to show his support for the victimized Muslims.

Meanwhile, Oakland police were forced to drop all charges against 14 Black Panther Party members arrested April 16 in an early morning raid on a house where the 14 lived.

The Panthers had been charged with conspiracy and possession of illegal weapons and drugs, but the district attorney's office could not come up with any evidence.

Panther leader Bobby Seale denounced the arrests as "the same old type of harassment" and an attempt to discredit the Black Panther Party.

May Day

May 1 is the international holiday of the working class, a day to celebrate the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. Recent struggles in widely separated parts of the world confirm that the revolutionary traditions of May Day remain alive despite its routine observance in many countries on the part of the trade-union movement and the mass reformist parties.

One of the first responses to the fall of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal was the call for massive May Day demonstrations, the first in 46 years.

In Quebec, thousands of workers marched May 1 against inflation and for regular wage increases tied to the rise in the cost of living.

In Japan, millions of workers rallied, many reportedly demanding an end to the Tanaka government.

Two hundred thousand people are reported to have marched through the streets of Damascus, Syria, calling for continued struggle against the colonial settler-state of Israel.

In the United States, where May Day originated in 1886 during the fight for the eight-hour day, the workers holiday is not widely celebrated.

The capitalist rulers, with the help of their lieutenants in the trade-union bureaucracy, have done their best to stamp out the tradition of May Day. "Law Day" and "Loyalty Day" have usurped the place of the workers holiday. Similarly, on the electoral front, vacuous slogans about electing Democratic Party politicians to a "veto-proof Congress" have replaced the concept of independent political action by labor.

The meaning of May Day is a simple truth: that the working class has no interests in common with the capitalist class. The exploited and the exploiters can no more be represented by the same holidays than by the same political parties. Their interests are contradictory, their traditions are contradictory, and their ideals are contradictory.

May Day will once again come into its own in the land of its birth as working people find their economic interests and human rights at odds with the capitalist status quo. Shortages of essential goods, skyrocketing inflation, rising unemployment, racial oppression, the degradation of women—all will impel ever larger numbers of working people to question the sanctity of capitalist rule and struggle to change it.

Free Grigorenko!

The Soviet bureaucracy, adding one more crime to a seemingly endless list, persists in trying to break former major general Pyotr Grigorenko.

This 67-year-old fighter for socialist democracy has been imprisoned in a psychiatric cell for more than four years and denied even pencil and paper. Although in danger of going totally blind and denied proper medical care, he has refused to renounce his ideas.

As Grigorenko explained in December 1968, "I am a Communist and, as such, I hate with every fiber of my being the organs of caste lawlessness, violence, and coercion. In our country this means the organization created by Stalin and now called the KGB [Committee for State Security—the secret police]."

May 7 has been named as a day of solidarity with this courageous revolutionist. An appeal by Soviet dissidents Andrei Sakharov and Pavel Litvinov, exiled Czechoslovak Communist Jiri Pelikan, and Ken Coates and Chris Farley of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has called on "socialists, communists, democratic and humanitarian organizations and individuals" to join that day in "a world-wide initiative of protest meetings and petitions in solidarity with Pyotr Grigorenko and all the other victims of politically motivated incarceration in mental hospitals and prisons."

Freedom for Pyotr Grigorenko!

For the reestablishment of workers democracy in the USSR! Leninism yes! Stalinism no!

Out of prison

I have waited too long to write to you people since my release from prison in February. I thought I should let you know how we came out on the lawsuit [suit against banning *The Militant* and violation of postal regulations]. I am sad to say we lost the case, but the pressure it drew forced the institutional "gestapo" to let *The Militant* and other related material enter the prison.

I am enclosing \$1 for three months of *The Militant* until I can afford \$5 for a full year's subscription.

To my comrades in prison:
Carry on the fight!

*Robyip Piedas
Marion, Iowa*

Airline workers

A few of us airline workers at O'Hare Airport in Chicago are attempting to start an airline workers newsletter. This newsletter will attempt to bridge the communication gap of workers who are separated by (in) different unions, different airlines, and different locations.

We've read a few of your articles in *The Militant* on the Stewardesses for Women's Rights and were wondering if you could get us an address where we could get in touch with them.

We feel the stewardesses would be interested because, as you probably know, stewardesses and women employees who work for the airlines get most of management's flak and in general are given a hard time.

*F. S.
Chicago, Ill.*

In reply—The address is Stewardesses for Women's Rights, P. O. Box 3235, Alexandria, Va. 22302.

Something for everyone

I disagree with some of your stands, like on religion and Israel, but you give pretty good news that I can't easily get from other papers—i.e., the FBI memos. Please send me *The Militant* for one full year.

*M. V.
Ann Arbor, Mich.*

World War II veteran

The *New York Times* has joined Ralph Nader and the liberal magazine *Nation* to pit the Vietnam veterans against the World War II veterans. Nader claims that 40 percent of the Veterans Administration budget is allotted to "nonservice" connected pensions and "nonservice" hospital treatment for aged World War II veterans. That's why, he infers, the Vietnam veterans are being cheated.

He would give benefits only to those "service connected" and let the rest go on "welfare." It is now possible for a veteran over 65, with an income of \$2,500 yearly, to get a "nonservice" connected pension. Also, any veteran who is mentally sick or disabled can get a "nonservice" connected pension.

Let us fight to increase and broaden benefits for all veterans of all wars. Cut the Pentagon budget. Stop aid to Israel and South Vietnam. Fight inflation.

*A WW II veteran
New York, N.Y.*

Prisoners Fund

In your letters column I recently read of another prisoner in this state who was not allowed to send money to subscribe to *The Militant*. Some time ago I learned that it seems to be a uniform measure throughout the state penal system not to allow us to send money to what they term "radical publications." So, all of us who are in such desperate need of what a paper such as *The Militant* produces—truth—must rely solely upon the complimentary subs made available by the Prisoners Fund.

*A prisoner
New York*

[*The Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

Correction

We appreciate *The Militant's* continuing coverage of the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund in building support for the suit against Nixon and the Watergate gang.

However, in recent articles you mistakenly reported that the Reverend Jesse Jackson and former congressman Allard Lowenstein have endorsed the PRDF. To avoid any misunderstandings, we would appreciate it if you would call this error to the attention of your readers.

*Cathy Perkus
Political Rights Defense Fund
New York, N.Y.*

A local vendetta?

I went to visit a friend of mine in prison in Arizona. He was one of several Black militants around the Afro-American Unity organization who was framed up on false rape, kidnapping, etc., charges from 1968 on. We used to think it was a local vendetta organized by the local police. We had several defense cases, but eventually the men were all put in prison. The FBI revelations put a new light on those frame-ups.

*Betsy McDonald
Tucson, Ariz.*

Enlightenment

All I can say is—thank you for relieving me of some of my ignorance.

*Robin Bruce
Boca Raton, Fla.*

A lot of basics

Recently I attended a mandatory human relations course at my [Air Force] base. The instructor was a well-informed brother who enlightened me to *The Militant*. The class brought out a lot of basics not found in the normal sensationalized press and news media. I would much appreciate any literature concerning freedom of the races and subscriptions to your magazine.

*A reader
Michigan*

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Albizu Campos

On April 21 the Latin and Black population of Attica mourned the ninth anniversary of the death of our great father, Don Pedro Albizu Campos [leader of Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico]. In the morning both groups met in the Catholic Church to pay tribute on behalf of our now deceased leader. On the left side of our shirts we wore a black patch, symbol of our grief.

The Catholic chaplain dedicated the mass to Don Pedro. However, he only mentioned Don Pedro's name once during the mass hour. We then decided to pay tribute on our own as we headed to the yard.

While in the yard one of our Latin Brothers was called into a meeting room by a sergeant and a member of the administration staff. He was told to remove the black patch from the left side of his shirt, violating his freedom of religion and belief, while also violating his rights to the practice of his culture.

He refused as a man to remove this patch: the only thing we had to represent this great man. In doing this he was taken to the box (solitary confinement) accompanied by a great number of Brothers who also refused to remove the patch.

We feel if the situation had been reversed, if we had worn the insignia of the American flag and mourned the memory of an American president, we would have probably had a steak dinner or a free buy at the commissary. But since this day was in memory of a man whose only ambition and endeavor was that of the liberation and independence of our oppressed peoples, we were condemned and deprived of the right to worship the image of Don Pedro Albizu Campos.

Prisoners
Attica, N.Y.

Disagrees on 'Zebra'

I am writing this letter in response to SWP candidate James Lewis's article on the Zebra dragnet in San Francisco. I can understand how Mr. Lewis and members of the Black community feel about these stop-and-search tactics ordered by Mayor Joseph Alioto.

It is obvious to me that this dragnet was put into effect as a last resort to catch the Zebra killer(s), and in no way was meant to "whip up racist hysteria around these murders or make the entire Black community suspect." I give my full support to Mayor Alioto and the S.F. police department in their search for the Zebra killer(s) and feel James Lewis should find a better way to garner votes than through his biased articles.

Raymond Buzek
Indiana, Pa.

In reply—For more on *The Militant's* view of Alioto's "Zebra" hunt, see page 9.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Projection, they call it?—Inviting the delegates to the Daughters of the American Revolution convention to tour the family quarters as well as the public rooms at the White House, President Nixon said with a grin, "Just don't take anything that's nailed down."

They could check you for TB—Federal agencies unplugged 55 of the 190 airport X-ray machines used to check passengers' carry-on baggage. They were emitting radiation.

Different vantage point—Watergate Howard Hunt was unnerved by his year in jail. Now interested in penal reform, the former CIA operative says, "Something is wrong, very wrong with the system." Especially when the jailers get jailed.

Note to fund raisers—Looking for a fresh angle for that next banquet? Contact the London agency Prime Performers and book a lord. "Many lords are extremely talented, especially as after-dinner speakers," an agency spokesperson says. The rent-a-lord agency charges a basic

\$240, plus expenses, for a gig. That's just for an appearance. Performances extra.

Love the price too—George Schultz, a University of California "consumer psychologist," says most consumers don't like fresh potato chips. "They've come to expect the slightly rancid flavor in the oil that develops after a few days," he explained.

Shopping tip—A University of Rhode Island class in sensory evaluation of food ran a test on dried dog food and cereal. Corn flakes and three brands of dog food were ground up to give them the same look and texture. None of the students could detect which was the human food. Chemical tests showed that one of the dog foods had three times the protein contained in the corn flakes.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



A 'veto-proof Congress'?

The greatest handicap of the labor movement is the political subservience of the union leadership to the capitalist government and the political parties of the employing class, the Democrats and Republicans.

The political strategists of the AFL-CIO are beating the drums this year for a "veto-proof Congress," which is just another way of telling workers to vote straight Democratic.

This is the advice union officials have been passing out more or less consistently since 1936. Yet up to the present time, 38 years later, they are unable to point to a single major piece of prolabor legislation sponsored by the union movement and enacted by their "friends" in Congress. Every gain for working people has been won through their own struggles, generally against fierce opposition from Democrats and Republicans alike.

In 1964, with the full support of the union movement, Lyndon Johnson was elected president in a landslide victory over Republican Barry Goldwater. In addition, the Democrats won a big majority in both houses of Congress. This was even better than a "veto-proof Congress."

Union officials boasted that their "friends" were safely in control of Congress and their man was in the White House. The Johnson administration promised everything—peace in Vietnam, civil rights at home, and the foundation of a "Great Society."

Each promise was false. The war was escalated. Civil rights legislation was never intended to fully satisfy the needs of Blacks and other minorities and the millions who live in poverty. Johnson's "Great Society" schemes benefited only the rich. Massive war spending began to fuel an inflationary spiral. The union movement faltered, its growth rate lagged, and its political weight and social influence declined.

The discrediting of the union-endorsed Johnson administration opened the doors for the election of Nixon in 1968. Some union officials, including Peter Brennan, who now serves as Nixon's labor secretary, jumped into the Nixon camp in 1968, hoping thereby

to curry favor with the new administration and get in line for preferential treatment against what they thought would be a general attack of some kind.

They were right about the general attack by the employers and the government, but they did not understand the form it would take, and they only sought to ride out the storm when it came.

After the 90-day wage freeze imposed by Nixon on Aug. 15, 1971, the top leaders of the union movement joined the government's Phase 2 Pay Board to help impose further wage restraints.

After a demonstrative departure from the Pay Board in March 1972, the Meany crew in the AFL-CIO cozied up to Nixon and gave him backhanded support in the November election.

They pegged Nixon a cinch for reelection and were anxious to show their willingness to do business with him. They did not count on Watergate, even though they were all well aware of the corruption in Washington.

Now they have leaped back in the Democratic Party camp and are calling for a "veto-proof Congress"—as if Nixon were the only antilabor force in government.

But the danger to the union movement after the November election will come from the new Congress, just as much as from the White House (whoever its occupant may be).

This is already in the wind. On April 24 the Senate Democratic caucus voted to endorse continued economic controls after April 30, when the Economic Stabilization Act expires. The purpose is to use the force of law to hold wages in check this year and next. This is the only way these capitalist politicians know or care about to "fight inflation," as they say.

Recall that the Democratic majority in Congress pushed through the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 against Nixon's stated opposition. With an even bigger Democratic majority—"veto-proof"—workers will be in for some even rougher lessons about the class allegiance of both ruling parties.

'Rouge' outlines action program

Call for 'far left' candidate fails in France

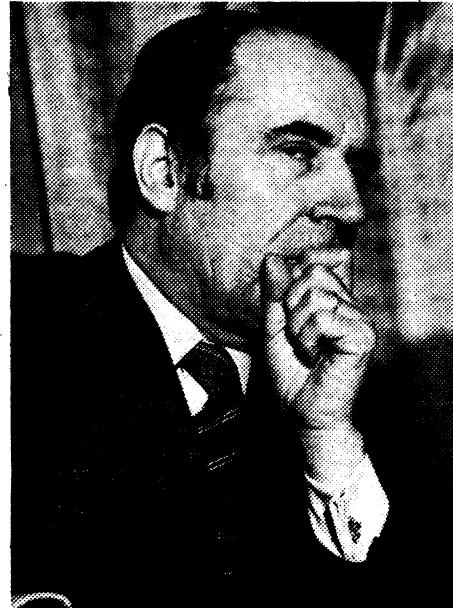
From Intercontinental Press

By Dick Fidler

Nominations for the French presidential election closed on April 16, with the Gaullists having failed in their quest for a single right-wing candidate to face the left in the first round of voting.

Four ministers and thirty-nine government deputies, many of them involved in an earlier attempt to stop the candidacy of leading Gaullist contender Jacques Chaban-Delmas, issued a "manifesto" calling for a united "majority" candidacy that was widely interpreted as supporting Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing, Chaban's leading rival on the right. Also running is the right-wing Gaullist minister Jean Royer.

Socialist party leader François Mitterrand, on the contrary, seemed to be laying claim to de Gaulle's old slogan: "It's me or chaos." Assured of the support of the Communist party and the Left Radicals, the SP's partners in the Union of the Left, Mitterrand has picked up some support further to the



MITTERRAND: Looking to the right

right. On April 14, the political bureau of the Front Progressiste, a small group of opposition Gaullists, threw its support to Mitterrand.

The broad support for the Mitterrand candidacy, with the hopes it has engendered of a first-round victory, has put heavy pressure on political formations further to the left. The main casualty has been the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party), a left Social Democratic formation.

The PSU's national council, meeting April 15, voted by 281 to 150, with 13 abstentions, to support Mitterrand. The majority saw the decision as a further step by the party toward entry into the Union of the Left.

Over a third of the council, however, voted against supporting Mitterrand, favoring instead the proposed candidacy of Charles Piaget, a PSU member and a leader of the Lip strikers. The initiative for Piaget's candidacy had come from an alliance of far-left organizations. Piaget expressed willingness to run, but said he would defer to the decision of his own party.

Following the national council vote, the PSU's left-wing faction, the Gauche Ouvrière et Paysanne (GOP—Worker and Peasant Left), declared it was quitting the party to form "May 20 Action Committees" composed of all those in the far left who had supported the Piaget candidacy. According to the April 17 *Le Monde*, the name chosen for the committees "simply means that the problem posed is, What happens the day after [the second round of]

the presidential election? These committees are planning to organize a national regroupment during the election campaign."

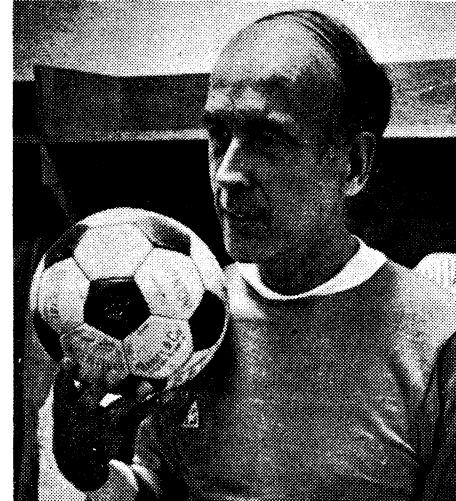
The dissident minority, which included between 10 and 15 percent of the PSU's membership, denounced the majority's "irreversible decision to join the Union of the Left," and said they hoped "to preserve . . . the PSU's historic role" by "continuing the discussion with all those who reject the majority orientation of the national council." They said they would call themselves provisionally the Old-Line PSU ("PSU-Maintenu").

The Gauche Ouvrière et Paysanne had mustered 38 votes against the majority's 279 on the final resolution defining the PSU's position on Mitterrand. Another grouping, with 128 votes, abstained on the motion after voting earlier with the GOP to support the Piaget candidacy. This grouping, led by Yvan Craipeau, Michel Mousel and Bernard Ravenel, has been a tendency within the majority faction that was constituted at the PSU's congress in December 1972. Following the vote to support the Socialist party candidate, Mousel and Ravenel resigned from the national bureau, and their grouping issued a statement describing the majority's moves to join the Union of the Left as "contradicting the whole orientation of the PSU and its very reasons for existence." However, they said they would stay in the PSU to fight "against those who want to tighten its moorings to the Social Democracy."

On one side, the PSU is under pressure from the reformist-led mass workers organizations, which have opted unanimously for Mitterrand in this election; and, on the other side, from the radicalized students and a small but growing layer of worker militants to the left of the CP, SP, and trade-union bureaucracies. This force rallied in considerable numbers to the proposal to run Piaget.

In an interview in the April 12 issue of *La Gauche*, the Belgian Trotskyist weekly, Alain Krivine commented on the proposal to run Piaget: "This candidacy produced a deepgoing cleavage, within organizations like the CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor] and the PSU, between the reformists and the revolutionists, at a fairly confused level, and it exposed the real orientation of the leaders of these organizations who claimed they wanted to form a self-management socialist current in France and at the first decisive test capitulated to the reformists, completely hiding their socialist and self-management orientations under a bushel and thereby provoking divisions within their own organizations."

The April 12 issue of *Rouge* ex-



GISCARD d'ESTAING: Failed to push out other Gaullist candidates.

plained that the proposal to run Piaget was intended to express, in the election campaign, "a vast anticapitalist current . . . a current that is also the framework for a massive outflanking of the capitulationist solutions of the reformist parties."

When Piaget declined to run because the PSU would not support him, *Rouge* announced Alain Krivine's nomination; and supporters of the Trotskyist journal formed a new organization, the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR—Revolutionary Communist Front) to build the campaign.

The central theme of the Trotskyist election campaign is outlined in the

tory, an intellectual," not a "representative worker militant."

The April 12 *Rouge* replied to *Lutte Ouvrière's* objections: "Yes, Piaget is not a Trotskyist. Yes, he is of Christian background. But, contrary to what *Lutte Ouvrière* thinks, his role in the Lip strike and his political positions make him a very suitable representative of the revolutionary workers.

Lutte Ouvrière could hardly claim to speak for the far-left organizations, Krivine told *La Gauche*. It "has been totally absent from all the big mobilizations of the revolutionary far left in France, including the march on Lip, the June 21 [1973] demonstration, and



CHARLES PIAGET (right): 'No to layoffs' says sign under leader of Lip watch workers

Action Program cited in *Rouge*: "The Union of the Left that the SP and CP counterpose as their concrete solution to the UDR government [Union for the Defense of the Republic, the main Gaullist party] already illustrates the class-collaborationist perspective of these parties. The workers must place in the forefront of their demands the breaking of all links, of any agreement by the workers organizations to collaborate in any way with the bourgeoisie."

The FCR's program emphasizes the need for independent organization of the working class. The socialist alternative to the bourgeois parties and the reformists is projected in such demands as expropriation of all the big industrial trusts and the banks, with management to be placed under workers control; a sliding scale of wages and the thirty-hour work week to combat inflation and unemployment; and recognition of the unconditional right to self-determination and independence of the colonies.

Other far-left organizations seem hard-pressed to explain why they are refusing to support the Krivine candidacy. Most virulent in its attacks on the *Rouge* initiative has been *Lutte Ouvrière*, a workerist grouping, which refused to participate in the search for a common far-left candidate and announced its own candidate, Arlette Laguiller, within a few hours of President Pompidou's death.

Lutte Ouvrière apparently takes a dim view of the prospect of winning over to revolutionary socialism workers who still hold religious beliefs, judging from an April 9 statement by the leadership. Because Piaget is a Christian as well as a PSU member, they said, on no count could he possibly represent the revolutionary current in the elections. As for Krivine, he was a "graduate in his

all the anti-imperialist demonstrations. Which means that we cannot support its candidate."

However, *Rouge* said, it would seek to carry out joint actions with *Lutte Ouvrière* during the campaign, beginning with participation in the April 20 demonstration on abortion and contraception, and the May 1 action.

Other far-left groups that participated in the attempt to get Piaget to run have refused to support Krivine as a candidate. *Révolution!*, an ultra-left group that originated in a 1971 split in the Ligue Communiste, accused *Rouge* of "giving in to electoralist maneuvers."

The Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire, a tendency headed by Michel Pablo that split from the Fourth International in 1965, supported the Piaget candidacy, but accused *Rouge* of "carrying out a cheap maneuver" when it nominated Krivine. The AMR had earlier called for a "CP-SP government of Popular Unity, as in Chile." It is currently negotiating an entry into the PSU.

The Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire, a French wing of the small sect headed by Juan Posadas that broke from the Fourth International in 1962, has called for supporting Mitterrand on the first round, saying that "now is the time to impose the Common Program."

Finally, there is the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, headed by Pierre Lambert, which claims to be "reconstructing the Fourth International." The OCI argues that while it continues to oppose the Union of the Left as a class-collaborationist coalition, it supports Mitterrand on the first round because he is running not as the candidate of the Union of the Left, but as the first secretary of the Socialist party, which it considers to be a "bourgeois workers party."

New denunciations of junta terror in Chile

By JEAN WALKER

As the show trial of 67 supporters of the Allende regime continued in Chile, church sources revealed April 26 that five persons were sentenced to death the previous day in a secret court-martial.

The five were accused of organizing resistance to the rightist coup last September. Red Cross representatives were barred from the trial.

Even in the Santiago show trial, to which international legal observers have been invited, the junta's abrogation of democratic rights is clear simply from the charges against the defendants.

The 67 military and civilian prisoners are accused of sedition and "trafficking with the enemy." The "enemy" is defined as all six political parties that were part of Allende's Popular Unity coalition and all the members of these parties!

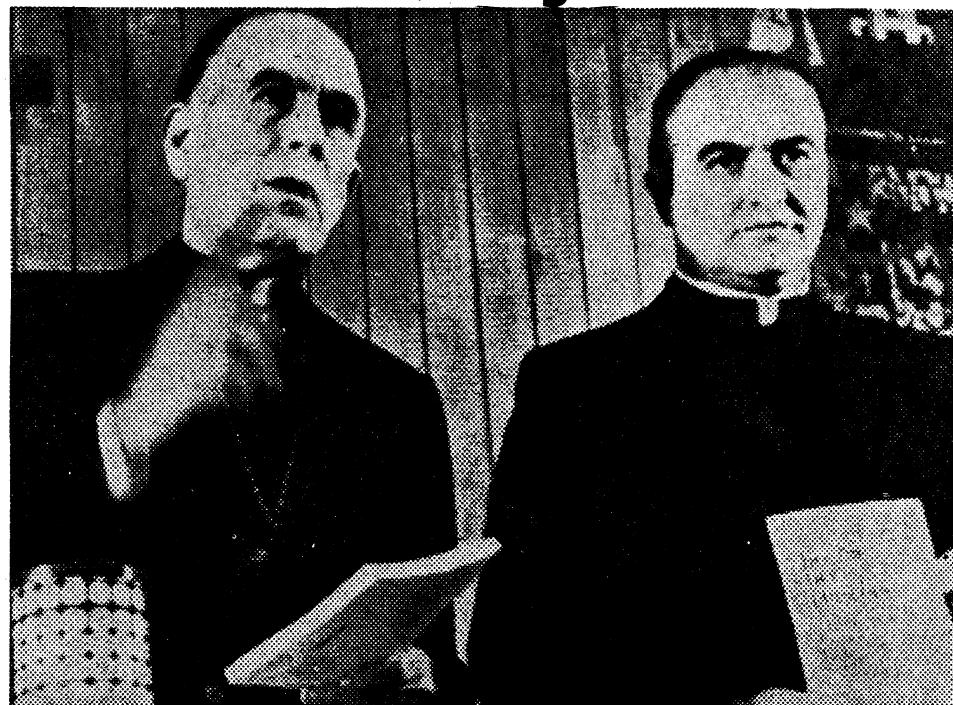
Last week the military junta received a blow when the only remaining institution that is allowed some freedom of expression in Chile—the Catholic Church hierarchy—released a pastoral letter criticizing the junta.

The letter, which was regarded as unusually bold, charged the junta with the use of torture, arbitrary and lengthy detentions, firing of workers for political reasons, utilizing informers, and structuring the economy "in such a way that wage earners must bear an excessive share of sacrifice, without having the desired level of participation."

On the same day the Venezuelan senate voted a condemnation of the repressive policies of the Chilean junta.

Under pressure from the growing international condemnations, the junta has made some promises to assuage public opinion. General Gustavo Leigh announced that all the 6,000 political prisoners still detained would either be released or charged and tried in the near future.

However, the new issue of the *USLA Reporter*, magazine of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, reports that 10,000 to 12,000 still remain imprisoned in Chile, and 85 percent have had no charges brought against them.



Raul Cardinal Silva Henrques (left) and another Chilean priest issuing statement charging junta with torture.

The May-June issue of the *Reporter* relates new information about the status of some of the seven political prisoners on whom USLA has been focusing publicity. Hector Gutiérrez, who was a professor of demography at the School of Public Health and a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Chilean supporters of the Fourth International, has been unconditionally released from confinement.

Jaime Barrios, the central economic adviser to Salvador Allende, is feared to have been killed within days of the coup, but the junta has refused to answer inquiries as to his whereabouts.

Communist Party General Secretary Luis Corvalán, together with other top figures in the Allende government, is scheduled to come to trial this month, according to the junta.

Luis Vitale, Marxist scholar and a leader of the Fourth International, was recently transferred to the prison camp at Chacabuco, an abandoned saltpeter mine in a desert in northern Chile.

Vitale, Corvalán, and four other prominent political prisoners of a wide

variety of views will be a focus of demonstrations to be held throughout the United States on May 11. The actions, supported by all the major Chile defense organizations, will call for an end to U.S. aid to the junta and freedom for all political prisoners in Chile.

In many cities, broad committees have been set up to coordinate building of the actions. In New York, for example, the May 11 Chile Action Committee has had a meeting involving representatives of the Third World People's Coalition, National Council of Churches, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, Chile Solidarity Committee, New American Movement, the Socialist Workers Party, USLA, and three campus groups, among others.

Unions in New York are also joining in building the protest, with the Joint Board of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union printing a special leaflet to mobilize its members.

Also as part of a Chile Action Week, an event is planned for May 9 at Mad-

ison Square Garden's Felt Forum. It will feature Arlo Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Melanie, Phil Ochs, Melvin Van Peebles, Senator George McGovern reading Pablo Neruda's poetry, and Swedish ambassador Harold Edelstam, who was expelled from Chile after the coup for aiding political refugees.

Edelstam has been on a speaking tour in the U.S., which wound up last month with meetings in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia.

In Chicago, Edelstam spoke to meetings of 150 at De Paul University, 350 at the University of Illinois Circle Campus, and 350 at a city-wide meeting in St. James Cathedral, where a fund appeal was made by author Studs Terkel. A total of \$3,500 was raised from the Chicago tour for aid to Chilean refugees and prisoners.

In Philadelphia, 450 people came to hear Edelstam at a broadly sponsored meeting chaired by Kay Camp of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. His one-day stay raised more than \$1,500 for the Chile Appeal Fund.

Prominent trade unionists in Pittsburgh organized a special meeting to hear Edelstam describe the repression of trade unions in Chile. The meeting was called by Clifton Caldwell, president of Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 590; Tom Quinn, international representative of the United Electrical Workers; Oliver Montgomery of the United Steelworkers of America and national secretary of the Afro-American Labor Council; Russell Gibbons, assistant editor of *Steel Labor*; Ernest de Maio, international vice-president of the United Electrical Workers; and others.

A cocktail party for Edelstam organized by the Medical Committee for Human Rights, and a city-wide rally of 350, succeeded in raising more than \$1,000 for the Chile Appeal Fund.

More news on the situation of political prisoners and repression in Chile and other countries in Latin America is contained in the new issue of the *USLA Reporter*. A copy can be obtained for 25 cents from USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 702, New York, N.Y. 10010 (\$2 for 10 issues).

500 march in defense of Haitian refugees

By JAY RESSLER

NEW YORK—More than 500 people, primarily Haitians, participated in a spirited march here April 27 demanding asylum for the 400 Haitians in Miami who face deportation back to Haiti. The march went through a predominantly Haitian and West Indian section of Brooklyn.

The demonstrators also demanded release of 121 Haitian refugees being held in "preventive detention" in Florida and Texas jails, and protested recent dragnet raids by immigration authorities in the Brooklyn Haitian community.

People joined the march en route, nearly doubling its size. A rally at Grand Army Plaza concluded the demonstration.

Chants and signs demanded: "From Haitian jails to U.S. jails—We want their freedom!" "Why asylum for Cubans, but not for Haitians?" "Deportation means death, Asylum for the Haitians," and "Nixon and Kissinger: Open the doors for refugees from Haiti and Chile!"

Only a week before, on April 20, a new group of 41 refugees arrived in Miami aboard a small boat. All of them were immediately incarcerated. Departing from its usual policy of holding only the men, the Immigration and

Naturalization Service (INS) for the first time imprisoned the women refugees as well.

The tougher stance of immigration authorities toward arriving refugees has been accompanied by a series of dragnet raids by INS agents to round up undocumented Haitians in Brooklyn.

Public places such as barber shops were raided. INS officers accosted people who "looked Haitian" along Brooklyn's Eastern Parkway, demanding the "green cards" that say a noncitizen is in the country legally. At least one factory employing large numbers of Haitian workers was raided by the INS, and several Haitians were reportedly detained as a result.

The protest march was organized to win increased support for the refugees in the Haitian and West Indian communities and to show that the growing movement in their defense will not be silenced by INS harassment.

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm sent a message of solidarity to the rally. Former state senator Waldaba Stewart, chairman of the New York State Black Assembly, called for continuing street actions to save the Haitian refugees.

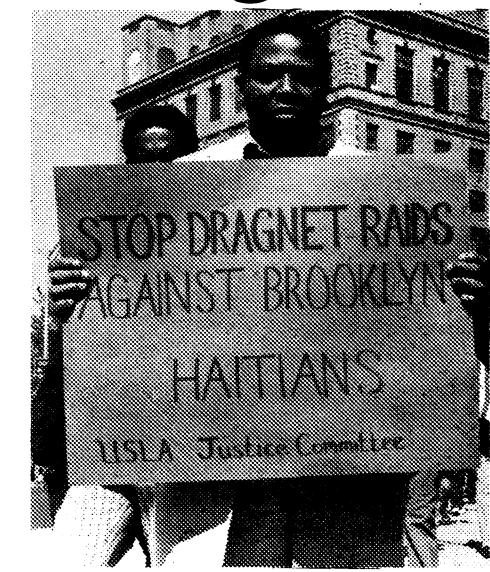
Speaking for the Trinidadian New

Beginnings Movement, Lloyd Daguilai called for the unity of Blacks and West Indians in defending the refugees. State Senator Vander Beatty and Jerrold Horne, representing the National Conference of Black Lawyers, also spoke out against the racist treatment of the Haitians.

Raúl Rodriguez from CASA, a Los Angeles-based antideportation group, proclaimed the solidarity of the Chicano people with the Haitians. "The Chicano people share the same situation, the same feelings, and the same enemy—the Immigration department," he said. "We want our peoples to be treated like human beings!"

A number of union representatives also addressed the rally. Henry Merceron of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 6, who spoke in Creole, contrasted the treatment of refugees from Cuba with the treatment of those from Haiti, whose repressive government is supported by Washington.

Also speaking were David White, a vice-president of the National Hospital Union; José Rubio, Brooklyn organizer for the United Farm Workers; François Félix and Henry Foner of the Joint Board, Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers union; Javelino Ramos from the National Council of



Militant/Martha Harris

Churches; Father Antoine Adrienne, Committee to Defend the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People; Floyd Fowler, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; and Ira Gollobin of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

A contingent was also present from the Newark Haitian community.

N.Y. building workers protest racist policies

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK — Several hundred Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian construction workers rallied at city hall April 24 to demand an end to racist discrimination in hiring in New York's construction trades.

Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, attended the rally and spoke with some of the demonstrators.

Moses Harris, an ironworker and head of Black Economic Survival (BES), told Morrison that his group was relying on workers themselves, rather than politicians, to press for more jobs for Blacks and Puerto Ricans. BES has held protests at several construction sites throughout the city.

Seventeen protesters were arrested April 22 at a construction site for the New York Telephone building going up in downtown Manhattan.

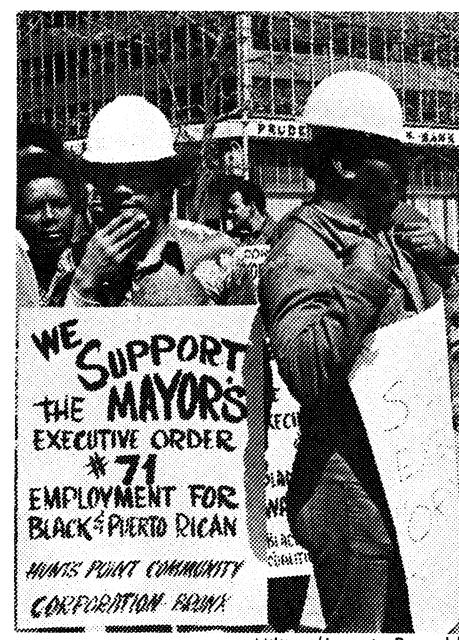
Harris told Morrison that a number of Black and Puerto Rican workers have been hired as a result of these protests.

Raymond Class, also a leader of BES and of the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition, explained that some of the workers have been trying for 20 or 25 years to get into the union. Other BES workers are in their late twenties or early thirties and learned their trade in the South, where the union movement is weak.

Class said, "What we want is equal representation in the building-trades unions. Especially when the construction site is in the Black and Puerto Rican community, those hired should reflect the surrounding population."

At two public construction sites, the Ruppert Houses development in East Harlem and Public School 308 in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, sheet metal workers have been forced off their jobs in response to picketing by community groups demanding more Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the building-trades unions.

At the city hall rally speakers from Black and Puerto Rican community groups called on New York Mayor Abraham Beame to abandon the ineffective "New York Plan" and implement Executive Order 71, which was



Militant/Jeannie Reynolds
Construction workers picket city hall

issued last July by then-mayor John Lindsay.

Executive Order 71 sets definite goals and timetables, trade by trade, for contractors who have city construction work. The voluntary "New York Plan" has been labeled unfair and racist by the protesting organizations and was abandoned by Lindsay in favor of Executive Order 71.

Mayor Beame is under pressure from construction union officials and contractors not to implement this order but to follow the less stringent New York Plan.

Takashi Yanagida of the Asian Americans for Equal Employment spoke against the exclusion of Asians in the construction industry.

The rally was chaired by James Haughton, head of Harlem Fight Back.

The demonstrators called for an expanded construction program to build housing, schools, and hospitals in slum areas. They also assailed the way the construction unions are now organized, more like job trusts than real labor unions.

After the rally, the workers marched to the site where protesters had been arrested two days before.

Steelworkers continue strike against Dow Co.

By ROBIN MAISEL

A month and a half after the 5,300 members of United Steelworkers Local 12075 struck Dow Chemical Company in Midland, Mich., there is still no settlement in sight. The strike, which began March 18, is the first since 1948 at the Dow main plant in Midland.

Workers are demanding a cost-of-living escalator in the contract. The company has offered a cost-of-living allowance of one cent for every one-half point rise in the Consumer Price Index with a maximum (cap) of eight cents the first year and 13 cents for each of the next two.

The strikers want no cap and one cent for every four-tenths point rise in the CPI.

From January 1973 to January 1974 the CPI rose nearly 12 points or three times the maximum allowance Dow has offered for the first year of the contract. Dow had a record year in 1973, grossing more than \$3-billion and reporting profits up 44 percent to more than \$271-million.

The strike has been marked by court

injunctions against picketing and the arrest of more than 100 Steelworkers on various charges.

Management personnel are working in 12-hour shifts to keep the plant operating. A large number of cars with out-of-state license plates are in the company parking lot, indicating that Dow is importing scabs from its other plants around the country.

On March 21, 300 women marched through downtown Midland protesting the arrest of more than 50 pickets the previous day and calling on the merchants to donate food and money to the union. The next day Circuit Judge Robert Fraser issued an injunction against mass picketing at the plant.

William Wittbrodt, president of Local 12075, predicts the strike might last six months. On April 16 there was a spontaneous march of some 500 workers past the plant after a union meeting. When a fire broke out in one of Dow's brine wells, volunteer firefighters refused to cross the picket lines—especially those firefighters who are steelworkers and were on the picket duty at the time.

Inflation in Canada met by militant strikes

Postal workers and airport firefighters in Canada voted to return to work April 26, ending temporarily a wave of strikes that had shut down the post office and airports across the country.

The issues behind the strikes remain, however. Even while the airport firefighters were staging wildcat walkouts, air-traffic controllers voted to strike the country's 56 major airports May 5. The issue for both groups of workers is the need for wage increases to keep up with spiraling inflation. The cost of living in Canada rose by more than 10 percent in the past year.

With real wages falling, an increasingly popular demand in the labor movement is for cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. According to the April 29 issue of *Labor Challenge*, the Canadian revolutionary socialist biweekly, only about 15 percent of unionized workers have such protection.

The struggle against inflation received a boost in early April when workers at the biggest steel plant, the Steel Company of Canada in Hamilton, got the company to reopen the contract and grant a modest mid-contract wage increase. In the few weeks since

then, *Labor Challenge* reports, tens of thousands of workers in other companies and industries have won similar mid-contract increases.

The central issue for the postal workers is attempts by the post office to introduce automated sorting equipment threatening the jobs and pay rates of present manual sorters. The country-wide strike was triggered by the firing of 20 workers in Montréal April 9. The strike spread throughout Québec and across Canada, in defiance of court injunctions and the retaliatory suspension of hundreds of other workers by the post office.

By April 19, 18,000 workers were off the job in about 80 cities. At a meeting of 1,000 strikers in the west coast city of Vancouver, a strike committee was formed, and the strikers there published a daily paper.

In Québec, the major union federations have formed a "common front" to fight for reopening all union contracts in order to obtain a sliding wage scale. The unions have called mass demonstrations in cities throughout the province on May Day to protest inflation. Several unions have called for strikes on May Day.

Armenians hit genocide --1,000 march in L.A.

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES — Nearly 1,000 Armenians commemorated the anniversary of the massacre of 1.5 million of their people during World War I at the hands of the Turkish government. Survivors of the massacre were among the demonstrators who participated in an April 24 march and rally here.

Through leaflets and speakers at the rally on the city hall steps, the Committee to Commemorate the Genocide of Armenian People explained the circumstances under which one of the biggest genocidal crimes of this century took place.

The Armenians, who had been living for hundreds of years under Turkish rule, were demanding national rights. The Turkish government responded with a campaign of terror launched April 24, 1915. Nearly every Armenian within Turkey's borders was murdered. Most of the rest fled, and today there are communities of Armenian refugees all over the world.

One speaker called for socialist democracy for Soviet Armenia. He also compared the struggle of Armenians for self-determination to the struggles of Blacks and Chicanos in this country, the Québécois in Canada, and other peoples in Latin America, Africa, and Asia fighting against U.S. domination.

Several speakers condemned the hypocrisy of the United Nations in refusing to recognize that, under its own criteria, an act of genocide ever took place. U.S. complicity in Turkish oppression of Armenians was denounced, and speakers called for an end to military aid to that reactionary government. It was pointed out that heroin produced in Turkey is an im-

portant commodity in Uncle Sam's domestic market.

Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley came out of the city hall for a couple of minutes to wish the demonstrators well.

A statement distributed by the Socialist Workers Party California Campaign was well received by many participants. It compared the struggle of Armenians to that of the Kurds and Palestinians, and called for self-determination for Armenia.



Militant/Miguel Pendas
Massacre of Armenians in 1915 was aimed at preventing them from forming their own state.

Bustin and Dixon stump the country for 1974 Socialist Workers Party campaign

By CINDY JAQUITH

"Debby Bustin is a serious young woman who wants to wake people up to what is happening in their country and their world."

"She is a member of a group the federal government has labeled subversive, the Socialist Workers Party. Miss Bustin is also listed on President Nixon's 'White House Enemies List' because of her active role in the anti-war movement."

This is how the April 13 *Milwaukee Sentinel* began its interview with Debby Bustin, cochairwoman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee. Bustin has just concluded a two-month tour of the East and Midwest, drumming up support for local SWP candidates and for the suit filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance against illegal government harassment. Maceo Dixon, co-chairman of the campaign committee, is touring the West.

"While Miss Bustin was living in Atlanta, Ga., the *Sentinel* reported, 'she set out to promote her socialist theories by becoming the first socialist to ever appear on the [city] ballot in Atlanta. In 1973 she ran for mayor of the city....'

"She acquired the necessary 20,000 signatures to get her name on the ballot," the *Sentinel* explained, noting that Bustin's campaign activities included participating in picket lines in support of striking Black workers and joining in protest actions against police brutality.

Watergate suit

The *Sentinel* also reported the details of the SWP and YSA suit against government Watergating. "The party's civil liberties suit is aimed at halting illegal harassment and intimidation of those who oppose the policies of the federal government. The suit is being handled by a noted constitutional attorney, Leonard Boudin."

In an interview with *The Militant*, Bustin explained that favorable news coverage such as the *Sentinel* story was characteristic of her tour. "Everywhere I went, the reporters were overwhelmingly sympathetic. Ninety-five percent of them were enthusiastic, in fact, about what I was saying."

She noted that the *East St. Louis Crusader*, a Black weekly, featured her visit to St. Louis both on its front

WHY IS THIS WOMAN ON NIXON'S ENEMY LIST?



Hear
DEBBY BUSTIN
chairwoman, 1974 Socialist Workers Party campaign committee
Friday April 12 7:30 pm
Women's Coalition 2411 East Kenwood

Leaflet distributed for one of Bustin's meetings in Milwaukee.

page and on the editorial page. The April 25 issue of the *Crusader* ran a picture of Bustin and Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri, on the front page with an announcement of an upcoming SWP campaign banquet.

Inside, on the editorial page, *Crusader* editor Wes McNeese devoted his weekly column "Beneath the Surface" to an interview with Bustin and Mutnick. "The SWP, though now boasting a nationwide following and having its views expressed in the party's newspaper, *The Militant*, circulation over 40,000, has not been allowed to flourish freely in these United States," McNeese commented. "Indeed, the SWP and other radical liberal groups have been stomped on by the 'establishment' forces and thwarted at every turn possible."

McNeese said he had expected to hear "dried-up, rehashed ideology" from the SWP, but "I was never so wrong."

"The party members were young. They were energetic. They were multinational in membership and they were determined."

Response on campus

What has been the response among students to Bustin's talks? "The people who come to my meetings want to find out what they can do to change this society," Bustin told *The Militant*. "They're looking for an effective

strategy. Watergate and the energy crisis have opened them up to considering the socialist alternative."

She gave as an example a young Black woman who came to hear her speak at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. The woman became interested in the Young Socialist Alliance, explaining, "I want to join a group that is doing something about all this mess."

Bustin also noted that "virtually no one questions whether the energy crisis was contrived by the oil giants or whether Watergate shows the corrupt nature of both the Democrats and Republicans. People want to know how we can implement socialism."

Students' questions after her speech frequently focus on "How can socialism be democratic?" Bustin said, and whether it's "realistic" to try to organize society along socialist lines. "I ask them, who's more realistic—the socialists, who are determined to change this rotten system, or the capitalists, who are hanging onto their riches at the expense of the overwhelming majority of people?"

"Is it 'realistic' to have more years like last year—the year of Watergate, the meat crisis, the milk crisis, the wheat crisis, the energy crisis, and the job crisis? Why, in one year alone we've had record government corruption, record shortages, record inflation, and record profits. The Socialist Workers Party believes society should be organized in the interests of working people, not the tiny minority of the wealthy."

government turned its back and removed its troops from the South.

"During the civil rights movement, when the cops put dogs on Black people, cattle-prodded them, bombed churches where little Black girls were, Tweedledee and Tweedledum—the Democrats and Republicans in Washington—did nothing. On the local level, they participated in those campaigns against us."

"Just recently, the FBI was forced to reveal documents that outline a bipartisan program to crush the Black liberation struggle."

Black party

"How can we support the Democrats and Republicans, the parties that have organized against us?" Dixon asked. "We should be about the business of forming an independent Black political party."

While in Colorado, Dixon was also invited to speak by the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) in Denver, by the Congress of Afro-American Students in Fort Collins, and by the Black Student Alliance at the University of Colorado in Boulder. He addressed hundreds of high school students, including many Blacks and Chicanos, in Denver, and spoke at all the main campuses. In addition, he held a meeting with Chicano and white inmates at the Lookout Mountain School for Boys, a reformatory.

Arriving in Seattle, Wash., Dixon campaigned for Barry Fatland, Young Socialist candidate for student govern-



'Democrats and Republicans are trying to explain why they're still on a sinking ship,' says Maceo Dixon.

ment president at the University of Washington.

Facts, the Seattle Black newspaper, ran an article on Dixon's tour. Dixon also traveled to Vancouver, British Columbia, where his talk on the FBI plot against the Black movement drew 50 people, including 10 South Africans.

In Portland, Dixon's activities included a meeting with members of United Minority Workers, a union caucus in the construction trades. The caucus is fighting for preferential hiring of Blacks, Indians, and women in the building trades.

Everywhere he has spoken, Dixon told *The Militant*, Democratic and Republican politicians have been on the defensive. "It's the whole question of the sinking ship—they're trying to explain why they're still on it. But many of the young people at our meetings have had it with the two capitalist parties. They're ready to give the socialist alternative a chance."



Bustin (in light coat) joins Brooklyn College protest against budget cutbacks during her tour of New York.

Black students continue struggle against cutbacks

By JIM McCAFFREY

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Black students here are continuing their struggle against budget cutbacks at Federal City College (FCC).

Five hundred angry students marched on the administration building April 19 to protest the administration's collusion with the board of higher education, the mayor, and the city council in cutting the FCC budget by nearly \$1-million. The college is 95 percent Black.

When Dr. Johnson, acting president of FCC, first announced the budget cuts in early April, he said the administration had only 24 hours to deal with the problem. He declared it would be necessary to cancel the summer program and the teacher education program.

Recently revealed documents indicate, however, that Johnson had been secretly discussing budget cuts since February. Minutes of a Feb. 21 joint meeting of the board of higher education, board of vocational education, and the presidents of FCC, Washington Technical Institute (WTI), and D.C. Teachers College show that they were planning to transfer FCC's engineering program to WTI. The minutes say, "Dr. Johnson does not anticipate any organized opposition to transferal of the engineering program."

Rapidly organized student demonstrations on April 11 forced D.C. mayor Walter Washington to approve the necessary funds for this year's summer school.

Meanwhile, students in the teacher education department are organizing against the threatened liquidation of their program. One hundred students met April 25 to plan a march on the city council for May 2. The city council can still present a supplementary budget to Congress asking for more funds.

Students are also planning a march on Congress to demand more money for the district during hearings scheduled for May 14-16.

The fight against the cutbacks gained significant backing recently when the Washington Teachers Union passed a resolution of support.

Anne Powers, a member of the Teachers Union and Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, spoke at the Militant Forum on the cutbacks struggle and read from this resolution: "Be it therefore resolved that the Washington Teachers Union recognizes the importance of supporting the FCC faculty and students and opposing this attack on the right of D.C. residents to a higher education and that the WTU go on record in support of their demands:

"a) No budget cutbacks at FCC or any other D.C. institute of higher education.

"b) Keep the teacher education department at FCC."

Also speaking at the forum were James Joseph, a mathematics teacher and activist, and Dita Constantinides of the Young Socialist Alliance at FCC.

Issues in home-rule debate

Washington, DC: What strategy can win Black political power?

By ANNE SPRINGER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In 1776 the American colonies rose in revolt to win such democratic rights as independence, no taxation without representation, and their own elected government.

Fourteen years later, a sleepy village on the Potomac with mud streets was designated the seat of government for the new union and put under the direct control of the federal government.

Now, almost 200 years later, the population of the District of Columbia, grown to 800,000, is still denied the elementary democratic rights of voting representation in Congress and control over its own local government.

It literally takes an act of Congress to pass regulations for flying kites in city parks or to change the uniforms of the city police band.

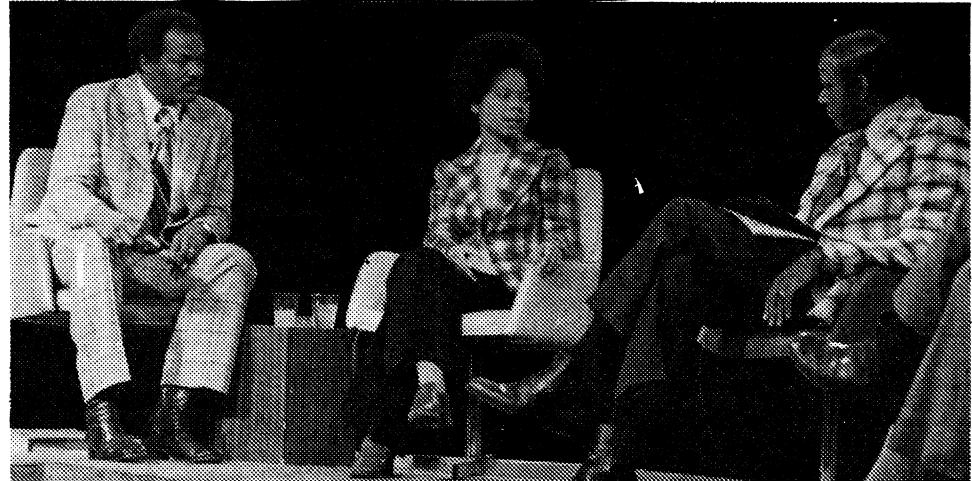
Congress has ruled D.C. directly except for a three-year interlude from 1871 to 1874, when it allowed a partially elected government, only to overturn it on the pretext that the increasingly Black population was not responsible enough.

For the last hundred years, racist opposition on the part of D.C.'s white rulers has thwarted the democratic right of home rule.

Today this city is more than 70 percent Black. The struggle for home rule is doubly explosive, because it is inextricably bound up with the struggle for Black political power. The question of how to win home rule is essentially the question of how D.C. Blacks can win control over their own lives and improvement in the conditions of racist oppression and exploitation they suffer.

'Home-rule' charter debate

This essential question is deliberately dodged in the hard-sell campaign being waged for the "home-rule" charter passed by Congress last December. D.C. residents vote on this charter in



Militant/Eric Simpson

Socialist mayoral candidate Nan Bailey in television debate with Democrat Marion Barry (left).

a May 7 referendum.

The charter provides for an elected mayor and 13-person city council, offices now filled by White House appointment. (At the present time, D.C. residents can elect only a school board and a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.)

The current city administration, the Democratic and Republican parties, the Central Labor Council, and the Metropolitan Board of Trade are trying to make sure the charter passes with a large majority. D.C. residents are being exhorted to vote "yes" in community meetings, TV, radio, and newspaper editorials, parades, sermons from the pulpits, and high school and college meetings.

The Socialist Workers Party has been the most aggressive organization in Washington in campaigning for genuine self-government, exposing the weaknesses of the proposed charter, and forcing the Democrats and Republicans to debate the real issues facing the Black community.

The SWP is running Nan Bailey for mayor, Toba Singer for delegate to Congress, Allan Budka for city council chairman, and Anne Powers and Sara Smith for city council. The socialist candidates have spoken extensively throughout the city and debated supporters of the charter on TV and radio, and at numerous meetings.

In urging a vote against the charter, the SWP candidates point out that the 14 new elected officials will be powerless figureheads. Congress will still appropriate the D.C. budget on a line-by-line basis. Congress will have the power to pass local laws for D.C. and to veto any legislation passed by the city council.

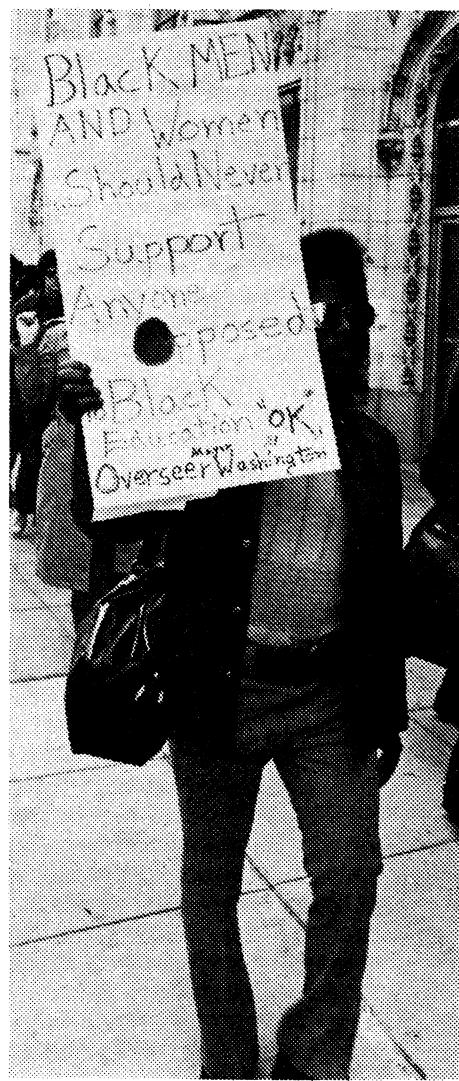
The president will still appoint city judges (who preside over trials where 95 percent of the prisoners are Black) and will be able to assume control over the local police without even notifying the city's elected officials.

'Step in right direction'?

Confronted with these facts in a debate, even supporters of the charter generally admit it will not provide real home rule for D.C.

But the Democratic and Republican politicians, already eyeing the offices they plan to run for under the charter, argue that it is "a step in the right direction." Their message is to elect "responsible" candidates and continue to wheel and deal with Congress for a few more concessions.

This was the position put forward by Democrat Marion Barry, president of the D.C. school board, in a recent television debate with SWP candidate Nan Bailey. Also participating in the debate were Connie Fortune of



Militant/Eric Simpson
Federal City College students demonstrate.

the Committee to Support the Referendum and Charles Cassell of the Organization for Political Equality Now. Cassell agrees with the SWP's criticisms of the charter, but refuses to say whether people should vote for or against it.

Nan Bailey stated: "I don't agree that this charter is a first step. Marion Barry just described the way this charter was put together [through maneuvers in Congress] and that's not the way that anything progressive has ever been constructed for D.C. or any other city.

"The Democrats and Republicans in Congress don't care about this city, don't care about the needs of people who live here, and their backroom deals aren't going to bring home rule to D.C. That's why this charter is lacking in everything," Bailey said.

Independent Black party

The two strategies were clearly counterposed in a debate at predominantly Black Roosevelt High School between Bailey and Delano Lewis, a former aide to Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) and candidate for city council.

Bailey pointed to the need for the Black community to rely on its own strength, mobilized in the streets and in the electoral arena. She raised the need for an independent Black party, which would concern itself not only with winning offices but with leading the day-to-day struggles of the community.

Lewis attacked the idea of a Black party as "divisive." He said the answer to the needs of Blacks was electing more Blacks like himself and Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson to office through "viable coalitions," that is, the Democratic Party. "You have to work in the system," was Lewis's response to students who questioned him.

Bailey insisted that the Democratic Party—the party of such racists as George Wallace and Russell Long—cannot be transformed into an instrument for Black liberation. The "system" of capitalist politics is controlled by and committed to those who profit from racist oppression.

Alternative is struggle

In her debate with Barry, Cassell, and Fortune, Nan Bailey commented, "Many people ask what alternative is there for people who oppose this charter. What else can you look to? What else can you do? I think one example is being demonstrated to us right now by the students at Federal City College."

She cited the actions against budget cutbacks at FCC as an example of the kind of militant struggles needed to win self-government for D.C. and other real gains for the Black community.

Candidates address street meeting

L.A. high school students hear socialists

By ARNOLD WEISSBERG

LOS ANGELES—Socialist Workers Party candidates got an enthusiastic response from students at a street meeting outside Venice High School April 18.

The meeting was organized as part of the Los Angeles area tour of Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Campaign supporters passed out hundreds of leaflets before school announcing a meeting to be held on the sidewalk right after school.

The principal, apparently upset at the prospect of socialists speaking to "his" students, claimed the leafleting was illegal. However, when challenged to cite the law, he backed down.

About 35 students heard the first speaker, Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 28th C.D. While Musa was discussing the so-

cialist campaign's support for the rights of high school students, two L.A. police cars arrived on the scene.

"This is another case of police harassment of high school students," Musa declared. "Can you imagine them doing this to Jerry Brown?" (Brown is a leading contender for the Democratic nomination for governor.)

"They don't want you to hear the socialist alternative," Musa said. "That's what the police are used for. That's why they keep them in the schools. The Socialist Workers campaign calls for getting the police out of the schools!"

His remarks were greeted with cheers from many of the students.

Styron, speaking next, explained that the Socialist Workers campaign wants to end U.S. intervention in other countries. "The U.S. acts as a policeman," Styron said, "to stop revo-

lutions that are occurring in countries that used to be the colonies of France and England.

"The Socialist Workers Party is in favor of eliminating 'defense' spending and dismantling the American military machine."

During the street meeting, campaign supporters sold many copies of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*, newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. Eighteen students signed up for more information about the SWP campaign.

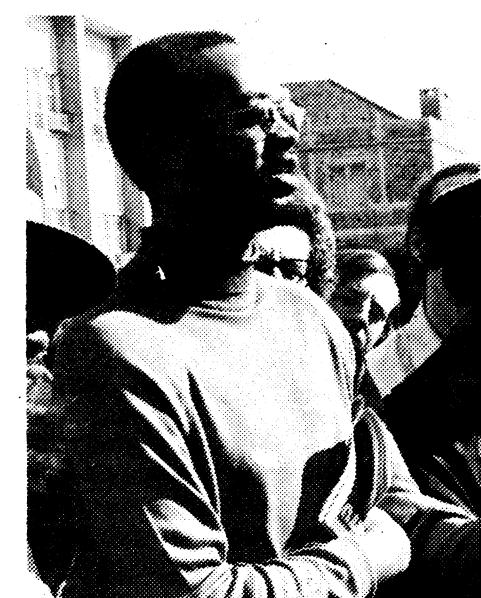
While in the Los Angeles area, Styron also spoke to 350 students at Santa Monica High School and to an outdoor meeting of 85 students at the University of California at Los Angeles.

On April 19 Styron spoke at the West Side Militant Forum on "Why Revolutionaries Oppose Terrorism." He explained that terrorist actions like those of the Symbionese Liberation Army cut across the possibility of mobilizing masses of people.

"Terrorist actions make people think that a small group like the SLA can solve their problems for them," Styron said. "Our opposition to terrorism is based very simply on the fact that it doesn't work."

BERKELEY—A tour of the East Bay area by Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, culminated in an April 19 banquet at the socialist campaign headquarters here. One hundred and twenty people attended.

Featured speakers were Rodríguez; Peggy Wilson, SWP candidate for sec-



OMARI MUSA: 'Cops out of the schools!'

retary of state; and Frobén Lozada, head of the Chicano studies department at Merritt College. The meal was prepared by members of the Merritt College La Raza Student Union.

Rodríguez was well received in the Oakland Raza community. Some 50 Chicanos attended one meeting, and six signed cards endorsing the socialist campaign.

Rodríguez also addressed a number of successful campus meetings. Fifty students turned out to hear her at Merritt College; 70 at Laney Junior College; 30 at the University of California at Berkeley; 100 at Ohlone Junior College; and 100 at predominantly Black Oakland Technical High School.

Women's Caucus backs SWPer

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Metropolitan Section of the National Women's Political Caucus has voted to endorse Mariana Hernández, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for California superintendent of public instruction.

In an April 20 letter to Hernández the caucus stated, "We feel you are well qualified for this office and are pleased to encourage women's participation in the political process."

The letter continued, "Good luck in your race! We are always pleased

to see qualified women run for office. We hope you will continue to raise the important women's issues of child care, abortion, equal opportunity for women, equal rights legislation, child support and family planning through your campaign. If you are elected, we hope you will actively work to upgrade the position of women."

The National Women's Political Caucus rarely supports independent candidates, and has usually thrown its support to capitalist party nominees, especially Democrats.

Weinstein fights for ballot status in June election

SAN FRANCISCO—Nat Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, is fighting for his right to appear on the ballot in the June 4 special election.

In defiance of recent court rulings, the state has barred Weinstein from the ballot for not paying a \$425 filing fee.

The special election for the 6th C.D. seat was called when incumbent William Maillard resigned to accept a position in the Nixon administration.

Although independent candidates and smaller parties are effectively excluded from the ballot in general elections because of California's restrictive election laws, special elections allow for independent candidates to gain ballot status by collecting 500 signatures of registered voters in the district.

On April 17 Weinstein filed nomi-



NAT WEINSTEIN: Ruled off ballot for not paying illegal filing fee.

nating petitions with 1,000 signatures. But two days later he was ruled off the ballot when the secretary of state decided he was not "indigent" and should have paid the filing fee.

A brief filed April 26 with the California Supreme Court asks that Secretary of State Edmund Brown be stopped from printing the June 4 ballot without Weinstein's name. It also asks that Brown be ordered to "cease and desist" from illegal collection of filing fees.

On March 26, immediately after the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in a related case, a California federal court ruled that the sections of the California election code dealing with filing fees were unconstitutional and void. Thus, since the filing fees were definitively struck from the code a month ago, Brown has been acting illegally in

demanding or collecting fees from anyone.

The suit asks that Brown be further ordered to "disgorge and remit" the fees actually collected from the six other candidates contesting the 6th C.D. seat.

Plaintiffs in the suit are five Peace and Freedom Party candidates denied official write-in status in the statewide primary election (also scheduled for June 4) because of their refusal to pay filing fees.

Attorneys for the suit are Marge Buckley, Peace and Freedom Party attorney who argued the *Rubin v. Brown* filing fee case before the U.S. Supreme Court, and Fred Okrand of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union. The Southern California ACLU is supporting the suit.

UCLA Young Socialists in student gov't race

By BYRON ACKERMAN
LOS ANGELES—Young Socialist candidates are running an ambitious campaign for the University of California at Los Angeles student legislative council elections.

The UCLA Young Socialist ticket—headed by James Harris for president and Bill Warrick for vice-president—is also publicizing and building support for the statewide Socialist Workers Party campaign.

The Young Socialist candidates are campaigning to expose and end UCLA's complicity with political repression in Chile. They point out that UCLA maintains a Ford Foundation-funded exchange program with the University of Chile, despite the military dictatorship's political expulsions and victimizations there.

The YS candidates are also cam-

paigning to make sure that the racist "Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence" is not allowed on campus. A February referendum showed that students are solidly opposed to this prisoner mind-control program.

Another important issue is the current student government's failure to back the campus workers and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2070.

YS candidate Bill Warrick, himself a member of Local 2070, stated, "We support the campus workers 100 percent and would utilize student government facilities to build support for AFSCME Local 2070. We would also provide office space and funding for political groups on campus."

The Young Socialist candidates have pledged to help organize student support for:

1) Expanded funding for the child-care center, which now has facilities for only 70 children.

2) Increased financial aid to Black, Chicano, Asian-American, and Native American students. A recent study found that Black enrollment at UCLA has dropped from 7 percent to 6 percent.

3) Full funding for the campus Black, Chicano, and feminist newspapers, threatened with cutbacks in their budgets.

4) Full support to the United Farm Workers. Mobilize the campus community to support the boycott of seab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines.

5) Student and faculty control over the university, including hiring and firing. Immediately rehire Pat Story, a radical professor victimized solely for his political beliefs.

Printers contracts still in dispute

Newspaper Guild ends Washington Post strike

By ALEX HARTE

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The 17-day strike by the Newspaper Guild at the *Washington Post* ended April 24 as Guild members voted to accept virtually the same two-year contract they had previously rejected in a unanimous strike vote. The Guild represents 875 editorial and commercial employees at the *Post*.

The walkout, the first by the Guild's *Post* unit, was crippled by the union's failure to establish a picket line. Other workers at the *Post* were asked by the Guild to continue working as usual.

"It was a no-win strategy," said one Guild member after the strike. He added, however, that a lesson had been learned.

The aim of the no-picketing maneuver, as stated by Guild officials, was to protect *Post* printers—who would have honored Guild picketlines—from the introduction of automated cold-type printing equipment. Withholding the skills of reporters and business office workers was to be the main strike weapon.

Less than \$200,000 in advertising lineage was lost during the strike. The *Post* continued to publish a full-size paper with the use of wire service stories and non-Guild employees.

As the strike wore on, Guild officials acknowledged more openly the real purpose of the no-picketing tactic. They wanted to free the Guild from any obligation to honor a picket line by printers in the event the printers go on strike themselves.

The 1,200 members of the Columbia Typographical Union, representing printers at the *Post* and the city's other daily, the *Washington Star-News*, have been working without a contract since September 1973. Loss of jobs through automation is the focus of the dispute. The printers have repeatedly been slowing press runs at both papers by refusing to work overtime.

The *Post* printers told the Guild they would honor a Guild picket line and would maintain a 24-hour vigil by their machines to prevent management from installing computerized cold type.

But when the Guild leadership and bargaining committee finally decided to abandon their unsuccessful tactics in the fourteenth day of fruitless negotiations, a recommendation to set up picket lines was defeated by an angrily divided and demoralized membership.

At a membership meeting two days later, there was a 347 to 229 vote to reject picketing once again, followed by



Printers want contract guaranteeing job security in face of automation in newspaper industry.

a vote to return to work and accept the company's latest offer. The new contract differs from the original offer only in very minor points.

It calls for a 12 percent wage increase over the next two years. The top minimums were raised from \$400 to \$448 a week, but less than half

the Guild workers ever reach this top level.

For the first time, Guild workers have a cost-of-living clause. They will receive compensation for price increases above 4.75 percent in the first year, based on the government's price index.

The Guild lost its bid for a 100 percent union shop to replace the formula now used. This formula requires that only eight out of every 10 employees hired be in the Guild.

NEW YORK—Negotiations continue here between the International Typographical Union Local 6, and the city's three major dailies, the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, and *Daily News*.

The printers have been without a contract since March 30, 1973. The key issue is job security, which is threatened by the introduction of computerized cold type.

A court injunction against job actions by the union was overturned April 18. Printers at the *Daily News* then began a slowdown aimed at putting pressure on the company. The slowdown has continued, cutting out dozens of pages of advertising on some days.

Rally launches SWP campaign in Washington

By HELEN MEYERS

SEATTLE—More than 100 people attended a celebration here to open the new Seattle Socialist Movement Center and launch the 1974 Washington Socialist Workers Party election campaign.

The April 13 meeting was chaired by Fred Lovgren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 1st C.D. "The campaign we are launching tonight in this new headquarters is serving notice on those tax chiselers, exploiters and war criminals in the Democratic and Republican parties to watch out—because their lies will be challenged in 1974 by the Socialist Workers campaign," Lovgren said.

The featured speakers were Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, and Clare Fraenzi, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.



Militant/Michael Baumann
Clare Fraenzi, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate from Washington.

Fraenzi blasted the record of her opponent, Democrat Warren Magnuson, as chairman of the Commerce Committee and the Appropriations

Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare. She said she would campaign for equal pay and affirmative action for women workers at the University of Washington, and in support of the United Farm Workers.

Fraenzi also discussed the need for united labor action "in order to fight back against inflation, unemployment, military adventures abroad, racism, and sexism."

"Working women showed the way when we met in Chicago to form the Coalition of Labor Union Women," she said. "Working people and their allies need to discuss how to organize a unified response to these problems both through massive actions like the truckers' strike and through forming a labor party to carry the struggle into the political arena."

The full slate of SWP candidates in

Washington was announced at the meeting. Dorothy Hawkinson, a 22-year-old student at the University of Washington, is running for state senator, 43rd District. Michael Downs, 31, a member of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 19, is running for state representative, position A, 43rd District. Patricia Bethard, 28, a secretary, is running for position B, 43rd District. Jeff Ford, 25, a member of Communications Workers of America Local 9102, is running for King County prosecutor.

The meeting heard greetings from Dale Van Pelt, United Farm Workers organizer, and from Wendy Stevenson, a leader of the Canadian Trotskyist movement. The meeting raised \$1,900 to fund the SWP campaign and complete work on the Socialist Movement Center.

Socialists speak at women's news conference

NEW YORK—"You each have two minutes to tell us what your campaign is all about," said the Women's Political Caucus press coordinator as she handed the microphone to the first of a dozen candidates on the platform.

The scene was a news conference sponsored by the Women's Political Caucus as part of their 1974 "Win With Women" campaign. The caucus had invited women members of the news media to meet New York's women candidates.

By the time the first candidate took the microphone, more than 100 women had crowded into the second-floor meeting room of Drug and Hospital Union Local 1199.

Of the dozen women candidates for U.S. Congress, city council, and state assembly, two were socialists: Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 18th C.D., and Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate from the

20th C.D. The other candidates and officeholders on the panel were Democrats.

Moriarty was asked to use her two minutes to explain why she had chosen to run for the congressional seat currently held by Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.).

"One thing Watergate has made perfectly clear," she said, "is that the Democratic and Republican parties are incapable of reform. Their campaigns are financed by the rich, who profit from inflation and unemployment. And no individual, however well intentioned, can change that system from within the Democratic and Republican parties."

Abzug did not attend but sent a message.

Katherine Sojourner, running against incumbent Democrat Edward Koch, said one of the things that first opened her eyes to the real nature of the capitalist system was the gap be-

tween the massive resources in this country and the fulfillment of human needs.

"There are no safe birth-control devices, insufficient day-care centers, we are refused equal pay for equal work, and it takes 50 years to pass an Equal Rights Amendment. Yet this country can go to war against the Vietnamese and spend billions of dollars to prop up dictators around the world."

"It was these kinds of contrasts that convinced me to join the Socialist Workers Party and to run for U.S. Congress in 1974," stated Sojourner.

Taking note of the number of women who stayed to talk to the socialist candidates, and the number who left with SWP campaign literature tucked under their arms, one caucus member commented, "I certainly think you've won a few socialist votes today!"



Militant/Jean Vertheim
Claire Moriarty, SWP congressional candidate in New York, at Women's Political Caucus news conference.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

MAY 10, 1974

The general strike in Martinique: assessment by Antilles Trotskyists

[A series of important labor struggles swept the French West Indian colony of Martinique earlier this year, culminating in a week-long general strike in mid-February. As a result of these strikes and demonstrations, Martiniquan workers were able to win some of their demands for wage increases and job security.

[The following assessment of the struggles was written by the Political Bureau of the Groupe Révolution Socialiste (Socialist Revolution Group), the Antilles section of the Fourth International. The GRS played an important role in organizing the general strike, which was brutally attacked by the police and army.

[The statement appeared in the March issue of *Libération/Antilles-Guyane*, the newspaper published by GRS members living in France. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

1. The powerful workers offensive that swept Martinique constituted the first step of a vigorous response by the Antillean masses to the high cost of living, low wages, discrimination, and injustice.

In a magnificent outpouring, thousands of workers from the newspaper *France-Antilles*, the electrical workers union, the building trades, the municipal governments, the banks, business offices, the hotels, the docks, the big factories, the apartment complexes, the hospitals, the teaching profession—all with the support of the high-school and college students—left their jobs, took to the streets, and once again gave the trade-union central office the place it deserves at the very heart of the country's life.

2. Reactionaries of all stripes, who had been convinced that the workers would agree to pay the cost of the crisis of capitalism without a struggle, were overcome with both panic and a sheer mania for repression.

The colonial regime was not content with adding the names of [Renor] Ilmany and [Georges] Marie-Louise [two banana workers killed by the police during the general strike] to the long list of martyrs of the Antillean people. It had to go further and make a ludicrous effort to cover its crimes by creating a diversion—the hysterical campaign against "leftists," particularly the Groupe Révolution Socialiste.

By adopting the official version put forward by Messrs. Orsetti [governor of Martinique] and Stasi [former French minister of overseas colonies], the bourgeois press in both the Antilles and in France frequently reported the events from a policeman's point of view, tending to leave the impression that the incidents that occurred in the

course of the struggles were the work of "uncontrollable" groups.

3. The reformist leaderships, who for their part were at a loss for what to do when confronted with the unexpected breadth of the February struggles and were driven to panic by the explosion of long-repressed popular discontent, objectively lent credence to the regime's trumped-up version.

They systematically distorted the positions of the GRS and consciously concocted an idiotic amalgam of the GRS and the other far-left groups.

by the majority of the workers.

5. The workers—and not only those who belong to the GRS—must express their indignation with the insulting charge that they are incapable of leading their own struggles. They must call these charges by their true name: sheer police provocations designed to prepare public opinion for repression—first against far-left militants and particularly the GRS, but then quickly spreading to all working-class political organizations and trade unions.

Faced with the repressive intent of



Strikers carry the coffin of Renor Ilmany

They finally ended up adding their voice to the chorus of slanders and calumnies heaped on the GRS by the bourgeoisie and the government.

4. The workers are familiar with our politics. All of them want to make the trade unions into effective instruments of struggle. Their aim is to carry out generalized and democratically organized struggles around clear, unifying demands.

Preparation of, participation in, and support to workers struggles are basic tasks for communist militants. That is what the communist militants of the GRS did. That is what they will continue to do, while putting forward the slogans, demands, and forms of action that seem correct to them and, at the same time, respecting workers democracy—that is, the decisions adopted

the government and the bourgeoisie, and with the bosses' thinly veiled threat to organize private armed bands, workers self-defense can only be organized through working-class unity.

6. The government's present plans—giving the workers some crumbs while lashing out at selected militants—will be smashed by the resistance of the workers. Martiniquan working people cannot be satisfied with a few concessions paid for so dearly with the blood of Ilmany and Marie-Louise, or with a few vague promises from cabinet ministers.

The movement, even in the opinion of the trade-union leaderships, has only been temporarily suspended; it has not been stopped. The workers will not allow themselves to be stripped

of the fruits of their battles. Sickened but in no way disheartened by Chalvet's butchery, they will renew the struggle to hold on to the gains of February, to block the government's maneuvers and efforts at intimidation, and to win those demands they have raised that have yet to be met.

7. To accomplish these aims it is necessary to draw a balance sheet of January and February—one that is not marked by complacency—in order to persuade the trade-union organizations to stop hesitating and to come forward with overall perspectives that are absolutely clear.

Instead of being simply the sum of partial and similar struggles, the movement must become generalized and united around demands that are common to all.

Among the demands, emphasis must be placed on those that best correspond to the requirements and possibilities of the present situation:

—End low salaries, equal pay increases for everyone!

—Down with high prices and inflation; a sliding scale of wages under workers control!

—No layoffs or unemployment; decrease the hours of work with no loss in pay!

To win, the workers must organize themselves in all domains, above all in the trade-union arena: membership in the trade unions for the unorganized. Form new union locals where there are none, and strengthen them where they already exist. Fight for the fullest trade-union democracy. Massive participation in the general assemblies in each sector. Active support to the strike committees.

The workers must do this in order to prevent the coming struggles from being isolated like those of January and February. The arrival in Martinique of the forces of repression stationed in Guadeloupe and Guyane at least contains a lesson: The government and the bosses are ready at any moment to make use of our countries' proximity. To combat the forces of reaction, workers can and must take action together, in order to apply common solutions to the similar problems that are posed in our countries.

9. We are not isolated. The struggles of January and February met an unaccustomed response in France and the rest of the world. Whatever distortions can be observed here and there in the reporting or analysis of the struggles, the fact remains that today the rest of the world has a little bit better idea of what is going on in this country.

We will be able to count on international working-class solidarity, in particular the solidarity of French workers, if we merit it through our militancy and determination.

Forward to a victory of the workers!

Forward to workers unity in action!

Forward with the joint struggle of the workers of the Antilles and Guyane!

French troops, red berets, and legjonnaires out of the Antilles!

The general strike at Villa Constitución

Argentine workers fight for trade-union democracy

By Gerry Foley

On the heels of the reactionary coup in Córdoba engineered by Perón, a general strike developed in mid-March in Villa Constitución, an industrial suburb of Rosario, dealing a sudden severe setback to the regime's campaign to break the militancy of the Argentine workers.

The most authoritative and knowledgeable capitalist paper in Argentina was quick to raise the alarm:

"What happened at the Acindar plant [in Villa Constitución]," said *La Nación*, "was very grave. Observations collected in management circles confirm the impression that, diverted by the many functions they have to carry out at the same time, the trade-union leaders have, so to speak, lost the contact with the rank and file that is most necessary for their stability."

That is, the Villa Constitución strike put in question the stability of one of the two pillars of the Peronist regime, the trade-union bureaucracy. And, by extension, it undermined the other essential prop of Perón's class-collaborationist experiment, the Bonapartist authoritarianism of "the Supreme Commander of the Argentine nationality."

Democracy at Issue

Unlike most of the wave of strikes that swept Argentina as the military dictatorship retreated and turned over political office to the "people's general," the Villa Constitución conflict was not over immediate economic demands. The issue was democracy, the right of the workers to elect their own leaders.

And so the workers at Acindar struck at the heart of Perón's demagogic and gangsterism, a course that reached its height when the trade-union bureaucracy's thugs and the police forcibly removed the left Peronist government of the province of Córdoba, and the governor and deputy governor then resigned in deference to the will of the "Supreme Commander."

On the same day that the deputy governor of Córdoba, Atilio López, one of the most widely respected of the Peronist labor leaders, accepted a "new assignment" as a "soldier of Perón," a new kind of leadership began to emerge in Villa Constitución. It was on that day, March 7, that the bureaucracy of the Unión Obrera Metalúrgica (UOM—Metal-Workers Union) decided to move to stamp out a few buds of workers democracy in the Acindar plant.

The bureaucrats had just reconfirmed their control of the national union by an election in which all opposition slates were banned and anti-bureaucratic activists were attacked by armed thugs (Eduardo Greizenstein of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International], was shot in the back.)

Ever since 1970, the UOM leadership had held the Villa Constitución local in trusteeship. In one of the three plants in the area, Acindar, the workers started to win back some rights in 1972. They forced the bureaucracy and the bosses to recognize an elected committee of shop stewards and a



Peronist thugs in Cordoba. Same goons are used by Perón against class-struggle tendencies in trade unions.

Comisión Interna (plant committee) headed by an independent class-struggle caucus, the Movimiento 7 de Septiembre, Lista Marrón (September 7 Movement, Brown Slate). The same process was occurring in the other two plants, Marathon and Metcon, but more slowly.

In January, the old trustee was removed for "negligence." The arrival of the new trustees coincided with the start of an anonymous red-baiting campaign in line with the one Perón and the right-wing bureaucrats had been trying to whip up over the assassination of José Rucci in September. On March 7, the trustees, Jorge Fernández and Lorenzo Oddone, tried to campaign openly in the plant against the elected representatives. A group of seventy to eighty workers responded by forcing them to leave, the March 13 issue of the PST paper *Avanzada Socialista* reported in its detailed account of the origins and the first two days of the strike.

"The next day the UOM sent a statement to the San Nicolás radio that eleven compañeros—members of the Comisión Interna and various shop stewards—had been expelled from the organization 'because they refused to obey the leadership' and because this was necessary to 'purge the union of Marxist elements,' the *Avanzada Socialista* report continued.

"The bosses, for their part, notified the expelled stewards that they were no longer recognizing them, and, beginning about that time, the police with armored cars took up positions around the union headquarters and in the vicinity of Acindar."

Sit-in Begins

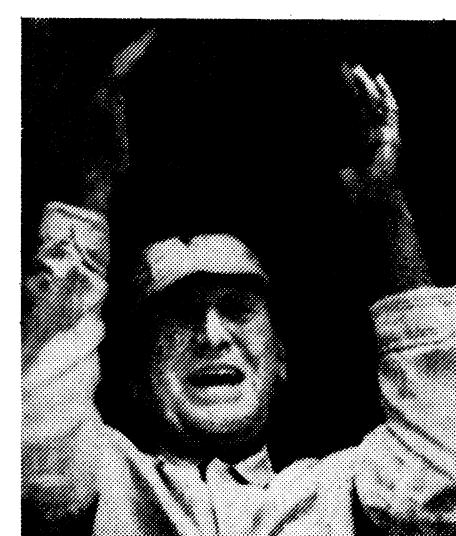
When the news of the expulsions reached the workers, they stopped work and began to discuss what to do. In a short time they decided on a sit-in strike. They posted guards at the gates, among other things to keep the managerial personnel from getting out. The next shift joined the strike; and the workers' wives began to arrive, bringing food. The workers

waited in the factory, surrounded by the police.

Then suddenly the strike firmed up. "At 1:30 a.m. [March 9], Pascual D'Errico, a member of the Comisión Interna who was expelled despite being on vacation, arrived at Gate No. 1," the *Avanzada Socialista* report went on. "Many compañeros were sleeping there in the intense heat. D'Errico improvised a banner and began to run through the immense plant, shouting: 'Se va a acabar, se va a acabar, la burocracia sindical.' [The union bureaucracy is going to go down.] A demonstration formed behind him."

Later on that night, the bosses made their first concession. They offered to have the armored cars moved back if the workers would allow managerial personnel to go in and out of the plant. The strikers agreed on condition that a certain number of administrators were kept always in the plant under guard by pickets. This arrangement caused some wrangles among management personnel, however, when their relief was late in showing up.

The decisive factor in the first round of the strike was the attitude of the Marathon workers, since most of the Metcon workers were still on vacation. At 5:20 in the morning of March 9, a team of Acindar workers began to stop the buses bringing in the first shift at Marathon. At 6:00 a.m., they assembled all the workers and started a rally.



PERON. Villa Constitución strike was a challenge to one of the central props of his regime—the trade-union bureaucracy.

"Standing on a truck," *Avanzada Socialista* reported, "the Acindar stewards appealed to the Marathon workers to join the strike. They asked: 'Are you with Acindar, or with the trustees?' The response was unanimous. Hundreds of hands went up and a single shout was all that could be heard: 'With Acindar!'

"A compañero asked: 'What if the shop stewards come and want to call off our struggle, what will we do then?'

"The answer came: 'Elect new ones.'" A new leadership appeared at Marathon. Some of them later explained to an *Avanzada Socialista* reporter how it happened: "On Saturday we all delayed clocking in. We were thinking over what we had discussed at the gate—supporting Acindar and the possibility of electing new shop



Rapid growth of Villa Constitución strike resembled that of strikes against military dictatorship in 1969.

stewards. We began to strike because we hated the trustees as much as the Acindar compañeros did. The week before, a compañero named Tamborini had died of leukemia and we weren't able to get the UOM to take care of him.

"At 7:00, the Comisión Interna arrived and called an assembly. They started attacking the strike, but the people would not let them speak. Then and there, the workers demanded that the Comisión resign. A new one was elected, including us."

Then the elected bodies in both plants began to coordinate the struggle. Their first joint action was a rally in the center of Villa Constitución.

The teams from the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA—the youth group in solidarity with the PST) that were going around the neighborhoods collecting money and making posters and leaflets for the strike reported that this spirit was spreading throughout the industrial suburb along Route 9. The Metcon workers promised to go on strike Monday when they returned to work. The merchants offered help and promised to go on strike themselves if the community voted to.

Snowball Effect

This snowball effect, catching up all the popular sectors of the town, resembled the pattern of the general strikes that were touched off by student protests against high prices and repression in the spring of 1969, and that culminated in the first insurrectionary general strike in Córdoba in May of that year. It was this process that broke the military dictatorship.

Later on Saturday, the bosses made a new concession. They agreed to pay for the days lost and called on the UOM leadership to meet with the workers to arrange for union elections. Rainieri, a hated agent of the trustees, went into Acindar and told the workers that the expelled stewards would be reinstated in the union if the strike were ended. He was given a bad beating by the workers before the elected leaders could stop them. The plant leadership called on the trustees to come and negotiate in person, promising to guarantee their physical safety.

On Monday, the bureaucracy hard-

ened, refusing to call elections. The strike spread. On Tuesday, it became a general strike. The merchants, the bus drivers, and the railway workers all joined and put themselves at the service of the strikers.

On Tuesday, the government and the goons started up a new campaign to intimidate the workers. A shop was blown up, and rightist gangs threatened to attack the property of merchants who supported the strike. Death threats were issued against five strike leaders. Seven members of the PST were arrested while distributing leaflets for the strike.

On Wednesday, police banned a rally the workers planned to hold in midtown. But the workers were able to get the police to agree not to interfere with the movement of their representatives and pickets.

Two legal agreements were formally accepted by the police. One of these proposals was drawn up on behalf of the workers by the presidential candidate of the PST, Juan Carlos Coral, a lawyer and experienced parliamentarian, who offered to help the strikers in their negotiations. Coral had arrived Wednesday along with José Páez, the main leader of the second Córdoba insurrectionary general strike in 1971, who is also a member of the PST.

The UOM leadership tried to use the presence of Coral and Páez to red-bait the strike. In a statement placed in the March 14 issue of the Rosario paper *Crónica*, they wrote: "The Unión Obrera Metalúrgica points

out that the workers in the conflict are turning more and more against the national and provincial authorities, the Ministry of Labor, and the UOM, trying to create total anarchy. Proof of this is the presence in the Acindar plant of Juan Carlos Coral and Páez."

As for the workers, *Avanzada Socialista* indicated in its March 20 issue, they seemed mainly interested in the fact that a presidential candidate would come to support them. The PST replied to the red-baiting attacks of the UOM leadership as follows:

"If we published tens of thousands of leaflets; if we covered the neighborhoods and called on the women to organize and redouble their support (which was an essential factor in the victory); . . . if we accompanied the workers delegations that went from Acindar to Marathon on Friday, March 8, and later to the two striking Fabricaciones Militares plants in Rosario; if throughout the country we campaigned for statements and telegrams of support; and if for all this we were respected activists in the struggle and our opinions as political and trade-union activists were listened to, it is because we are a socialist party, a workers party that is always—or tries to be—in the forefront of the struggles of our class.

"Our party is made up of compañeros who have gone through struggles—the biggest and the smallest—but all the same kind as those in Vi-

Continued on following page

Harassment of PST mounts

New harassment of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) is reported in the April 4 issue of the party's weekly *Avanzada Socialista*.

The latest incidents took place in the predawn hours of March 29 in the city of Mendoza. A powerful bomb exploded at the central headquarters of the PST, causing considerable damage to both the headquarters and neighboring buildings.

Immediately after the explosion, detectives of the provincial police arrived on the scene. Without a search warrant, these agents entered the headquarters and arrested two party members, Abel Angel Alberto and Rodolfo Lorenzo Galván, on charges of having set off the bomb.

Once at police headquarters, Alberto and Galván were accused instead

of having violated Article 203 of the new Penal Code. This article penalizes anyone involved in trying to "impose his ideas by means of force." As "proof" of this "crime," the police cited leaflets and other publications of the PST supporting a current bank workers strike.

Hours later, when the two PST members were finally released and could return to the site of the bombing, they found the interior of their headquarters ransacked, the telephone broken, and furnishings and literature strewn over the floor.

The attack on the PST in Mendoza is part of a long series of bombings, raids, and arbitrary arrests directed against the party.

On March 15, an explosion took place at their Beccar offices, following on the heels of a similar occurrence March 5 at the party headquarters in Neuquén.



PST office in Mendoza after bombers and police had done their work

World news notes

Hitler and the pope

When Adolf Hitler's Nazi party came to power in Germany in 1933 its international isolation was one of the major problems it faced. Six months later Pope Pius XII took the lead in helping to break down that isolation by signing a concordat recognizing the Nazi regime.

Throughout World War II the pope, posing as the voice of God on earth and the conscience of humanity, refused to speak out against the extermination of the Jews of Europe. He had no compunctions about vigorously denouncing atheism and communism, however.

Defenders of Pius XII have argued that the good pope was so concerned with the welfare of the Church and the souls under his care that he didn't know about the Nazi death camps. This lame excuse—one that was never credible—received another blow April 26 with the publication of Vatican documents showing that Pius knew about the mass deportation of Jews as early as 1941. By 1942 he was getting numerous reports on the annihilation of the Jews.

'IRA execution': a Scotland Yard assassination?

New revelations in Britain sound very similar to some of the information that has come to light in the U.S. about police infiltration and terrorism directed against the Black struggle.

On April 13, Kenneth Lennon, a Catholic from Northern Ireland, was found in a ditch in Surrey, England, with two bullets in the back of his head. Police claimed the murder was the work of an Irish Republican Army (IRA) execution squad.

But three days before his murder Lennon had gone to the National Council for Civil Liberties in London and, in a six-hour statement, told how he had been blackmailed into becoming an informer for Scotland Yard's Special Branch.

The Special Branch detectives told Lennon to infiltrate Irish organizations and "egg them on." In one incident, after setting up three friends in a robbery aimed at getting money for the IRA, Lennon proposed a trip to look over the prison they were being held in in order to prepare a jailbreak. His companion was arrested and sentenced to a three-year jail term, while Lennon was acquitted as part of an arrangement with the judge and prosecution.

Lennon mentioned that the evidence was doctored by the police to make a stronger government case.

In releasing Lennon's statement, the civil liberties council said that it showed that the Special Branch and police not only sought information on illegal activities, but also "sought to encourage such illegal activities."

The council's senior legal officer related that Lennon "said to me that he thought the Special Branch might kill him and make it look as though it were an Irish job."

One step forward, one step back

The West German parliament voted April 26 by a margin of 247 to 233 to legalize abortions in the first three months of pregnancy. Under the law, abortions will be free, with medical costs covered by the government.

In the meantime, a recent issue of the Hungarian Communist party daily, *Nepszabadság*, reported on the decision of the government there to make abortions illegal except in certain limited cases. The Stalinist regime hopes this will increase the birthrate of the country.

New arrests in Brazil

As many as 200 people have been arrested in a new roundup by Brazilian police, reports the April 22 *Washington Post*. Nearly 100 persons—mostly students—have been arrested in São Paulo. The University of São Paulo was the site of an April 5 meeting of 1,500 people that formed the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners in Brazil.

Other arrests were reported in Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, and elsewhere.

Repression in Malaysia

Trials were expected to begin in April for relatives of Malaysian political prisoners who were arrested during demonstrations demanding the release of the prisoners. About thirty protesters were arrested January 12 outside the offices of the home ministry in Kuala Lumpur. Another fifty were arrested January 18 when they demonstrated outside the parliament building.

The Concerned Malayan Citizens for Democratic Rights, in a statement issued February 2, estimated that more than 600 persons have been detained without trial under the Internal Security Act and the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance in prisons at Taiping, Batu Gajah, Seremban, Penang, and Kuala Lumpur in Malaya, and at the Changi camp in Singapore. Some of the prisoners have been held for more than ten years. Hundreds of other political prisoners are known to be held in concentration camps in the Sabah and Sarawak areas of Malaysia.

Some prisoners have been released under extremely restrictive conditions.

In January and February, prisoners at the Batu Gajah camp conducted a hunger strike to protest conditions there and against the failure of the authorities to investigate the circumstances of the suicide of a prisoner at Taiping.

Moscow emphasizes support

Iraqi regime bombs Kurdish villages

The Iraqi government has begun intensive bombing of Kurdish-held areas in northern Iraq in an effort to force the Kurdish national minority to accept Baghdad's proposal for limited self-rule. On April 17, according to a Kurdish radio broadcast monitored in Tehran, Iraqi MIGs destroyed eleven Kurdish villages.

Some 50,000 Iraqi troops have been ordered to the Kurdish front, and Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan Bakr has issued a decree calling part of the military reserves to active duty. Leaders of the Kurdish Democratic party (KDP) reportedly expect a full-scale Iraqi offensive once the torrential spring rains subside.

Meanwhile, the April 18 issue of the Beirut magazine *Arab World* reported that the Iraqi KDP had set up its own government administration—an eight-member executive council—and planned to proclaim full autonomy soon. The April 1 *New York Times* reported that tens of thousands of Kurds had already flocked to the mountainous northern area by foot and mule to join the Pesh Merga, the Kurdish guerrilla army.

The Baghdad autonomy plan, issued March 11 as a fifteen-day ultimatum, has been rejected by the Kurdish leadership as an "attempt to liquidate Kurdish national rights." They charge the Baghdad plan offers no more than limited local self-rule and leaves all real decision-making power in the hands of the ruling National Front of the Baathist (Arab Socialist) party and the Iraqi Communist party.

The proposal also failed to grant Kurdish demands for administrative control over the Kirkuk region and

a share of the national budget proportional to their representation in the population.

Kirkuk, which accounts for about 65 percent of Iraq's daily production of 2.1 million barrels of oil, is geographically, ethnically, and traditionally a part of Iraqi Kurdistan. The KDP has agreed to a mixed Arab-Kurdish administration in the area but demands that it be placed under the authority of a Kurdish executive council.

The Kurdish leadership has also agreed to allow the central government to continue to collect the revenue from the nationalized oilfield. In return, however, they demand 20 to 25 percent of the national budget, a figure corresponding to Kurdish representation in Iraq's population of 10 million. KDP officials charge that to date they have never received more than 10-12 percent of official revenue.

The Kurds are a predominantly Muslim, non-Arab people generally believed to be descendants of the ancient Medes. Kurdistan, their homeland, covers a territory of more than 150,000 square miles in Iran, Iraq, the Soviet Armenian Republic, Turkey, and Syria. Numbering some 10 million altogether, 80 percent of whom are landless peasants, the Kurds live in extreme poverty in what can most accurately be described as the most underdeveloped areas of underdeveloped countries.

A study published by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 1965 estimated the average annual income of an Iranian Kurdish family of four at \$26. Their situation in Iraq, though improved after the 1958 revolution that overthrew the Hashemite monar-

chy, is still one of extreme poverty.

Since the 1958 revolution, the Kurds have fought six Iraqi governments to a stalemate. Baghdad's 1970 promise of autonomy within four years temporarily concluded nearly a decade of open insurrection against the central government. It is this autonomy plan, finally unveiled in March of this year, that the Kurds have rejected as "fake autonomy."

In the past, the Kurds had been able to count on some support from the Iraqi CP and Moscow. In 1956, for example, the Second Congress of the Iraqi CP declared: "The Kurdish people in Iraq is an inseparable part of the Kurdish nation in the whole of Kurdistan. . . . An autonomy founded on voluntary, militant, fraternal union constitutes a temporary settlement corresponding to the circumstances and

in accordance with the best interests of both [Arab and Kurd] nations." (Emphasis added.)

And in the early 1960s Moscow frequently condemned the Iraqi regime's bloody reprisals against the Kurds. "The tragedy of the Kurds in Iraq has already become an international issue" that "stirs up the righteous indignation of the broadest public in the world," the Kremlin declared in a July 7, 1963, protest.

That, of course, was before Moscow signed the April 1972 Soviet-Iraqi Friendship and Co-operation Treaty, making the Iraqi Baathist regime one of its closest Arab allies. It was also before the Iraqi CP joined the Baathists in the National Front coalition government.

In late March, as Soviet-armed Iraqi troops were already advancing on the Kurdish region, Soviet Defense Minister Andrei Grechko paid a four-day visit to the Baghdad leadership. "The two sides," reported the April 2 official publication *Soviet News*, "noted with satisfaction that the friendly relations between the two countries were stable. . . ."



Since 1958 the Kurds have fought six Iraqi governments to a stalemate

for shop elections within 45 days and union local elections within a maximum of 120 days, under the supervision of two representatives from each factory.

On Saturday, 5,000 workers and their wives rallied on the Acindar grounds before marching in a pro-

cession twenty-five blocks long to the central plaza to celebrate their victory.

"We are convinced that the kind of workers and popular mobilization that at least for the moment has won the demands in Villa Constitución is the way to solve the country's crisis, drive out imperialism, and build socialism," the March 20 *Avanzada Socialista* wrote.

"In 1968," another article said, "when the workers learned that their union leaders were accomplices of Onganía and the system, they began a process that, from Chocón to the Cordobazos, swept away the feverish bourgeois dreams of twenty years of military dictatorship. In 1974, the workers seem to have come to understand that Perón is a new obstacle to their rebellion. Thus it is possible that with the Acindar action they have begun a new process, a process that they will carry on in the Banco Nación strike, one which points the way toward great struggles for political power, for building socialism. The next months will determine whether this possibility becomes a reality. . . .

"With the spectacular antibureaucratic victory in Villa Constitución, the working class seems to have come onto the scene—directly, without 'respectable' intermediaries or fraudulently elected representatives. It is no longer a question of arguing about Obregón Cano's merits as opposed to those of Colonel Navarro [the lead-

er of the rightist coup] or Gelbard's as opposed to those of López Rega, of elections as opposed to intervention. The confrontation is beginning to be waged on the fundamental ground of class struggle."

...Argentina

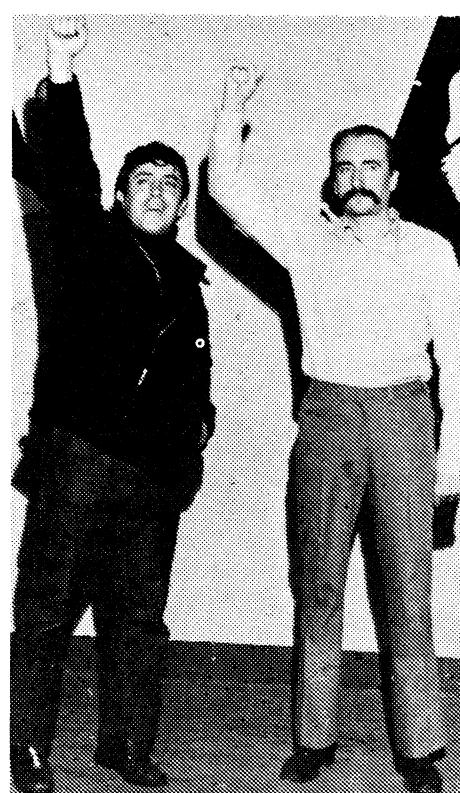
Continued from preceding page

lla Constitución. It is made up of compañeros who, like Coral, have sat in parliament or, like Páez and Expósito, have led unions or, like Rabino, have headed committees of militant shop stewards; it is made up of activists who have tried to inspire—and have inspired—mobilizations like the ones in Villa."

The decisive day for the strike, according to *Avanzada Socialista*, was Thursday, March 14. Signs of fatigue were showing up in the factories. "But two measures saved the situation. One was letting one shift go home and rest and the other was Pichi's speech to the women, calling on them not to let the men weaken. The women organized a committee and began to participate actively."

Another important factor was a strong force of pickets that maintained discipline and held off the police.

Heavy police pressure was kept up until the end. Páez and another group of PST activists were arrested Friday. But the same day, a personal representative of Perón's wife, who is vice-president of Argentina, showed up. An agreement was reached providing



PST leaders Paez (left) and Coral

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Two defendants beaten

Setting of Attica trial dates postponed

By DAVE STRONG

BUFFALO—Judge Carmen Ball convened the second "calendar call" April 29 in an attempt to establish trial dates for the 60 Attica defendants.

With two exceptions, the calendar call was postponed until June 10.

Attica Brother Frank "Big Black" Smith, who is the director of the Buffalo defense office, was unable to attend because of illness, and his appearance was postponed until May 13.

A court-appointed attorney for Vernon LaFranque, who is free on bail, stated that he is ready for trial, and a tentative trial date was set for May 20. LaFranque is charged with possession of prison contraband, the least



Militant/Baxter Smith
Attica Brother Mariano 'Dalou' Gonzalez

serious of all charges.

Attorneys for the defense, including former attorney general Ramsey Clark and William Kunstler, protested that the state, which claims to be ready for trial, has failed to provide the defendants with necessary pretrial discovery material.

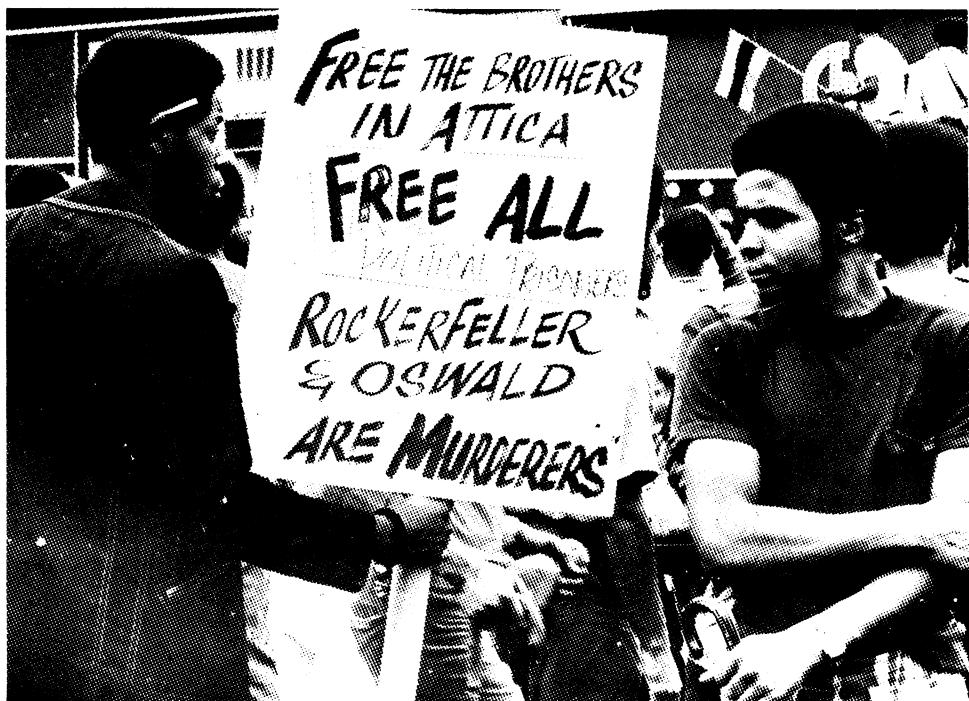
They pointed to the recent convening of a second grand jury and to a story that appeared in *Newsday* April 23 as further evidence of the one-sided and biased nature of the grand jury. The story said that the first grand jury had written up, but never filed, an indictment against a state trooper for the murder of a prison guard.

When several of the defendants who are in jail refused to go to court with their hands cuffed behind their backs, they were badly beaten.

Attica Brother Chris Reed suffered a possible broken hand. Brothers Baba and Shango were beaten on the head and required stitches. Brother Mariano "Dalou" González was badly beaten and put in solitary confinement.

In a related development, 350 supporters of the Attica Brothers attended an April 27 rally and march downtown to protest the racist frame-ups.

The rally was sponsored by a wide range of organizations here, including BUILD, a local Black organization; Martin Sostre Defense Committee; Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Young Workers Liberation League; the Black Student Union at the University of



Militant/Candida Barberena

Buffalo; and Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison.

Speakers at the rally included Gladys Bissonette, from the American Indian Movement, who gave a message of solidarity on behalf of the Wounded Knee defendants; Gary Lawton, a Black activist framed up on murder charges in Riverside, Calif.; Alfredo López, a leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; and a representative of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression.

The rally was followed by a spirited march to the jail where 17 of the Attica Brothers are being held for court appearances.

Attica defendants spoke to the prisoners in the jail through a portable sound system. The prisoners responded by shouting, waving, and banging on the steel windows of their cells.

For further information on the case, contact Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 1370 Main St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14209.

Militant sales drive

Areas set for target issue—goal to sell 10,000

By ROSE OGDEN

Sales of the April 26 *Militant* (headlined "Ethiopia: mass revolt deepens") total 8,471. This is 85 percent of our goal to sell 10,000 copies in addition to subscriptions, newsstand sales, and sales by supporters who do not send in weekly reports.

The response to the cover article on Ethiopia varied from city to city, but some areas report that it was warmly received in the Black community. Washington, D.C., supporters found this to be true and were able to reach their goal for the first time this spring.

"People in D.C. are concerned and aware of developments in Ethiopia," explains sales director Jim Gotesky. "The Black population here was especially interested, and our sales on the streets and to Black students went very well."

Leading the scoreboard with the highest percentage of their goal sold is

Pittsburgh. Supporters there have decided to increase their weekly goal to 375.

Atlanta supporters also topped their goal and report that more than 200 copies were sold at Socialist Worker Party campaign street rallies.

Chicago supporters met their goal of 700. Ninety-six of these were sold at a shopping area near the South Works steel plant. The day prior to their sales all residents in the area were evacuated because of a poison gas leakage. "After dramatically experiencing the effects of capitalism fouling things up, people were very interested in a radical paper," reports Chicago sales director Lenore Sheridan.

Members of the Milwaukee Young Socialist Alliance sold out their entire bundle of 30. They report, "Our success was due to the fact that we organized sales teams for the American Motors Plant, where we sold 24. We plan to regularize these sales."

Plans are being mapped out for intensive sales activity around the May 17 *Militant*, which has been slated nationally as a special target week to meet our goal of 10,000. In many cities *Militant* and *Young Socialist* sales will be combined with election campaigning for SWP candidates.

Boston supporters, for example, have set May 11 as a campaign Saturday, and they are organizing a series of street rallies in the Black community and other working-class neighborhoods. Some areas are planning to take extra large *Militant* bundles and aim to sell more than their weekly goal.

All readers are encouraged to join us in distributing *The Militant*. You can participate in weekly sales with members of the SWP or YSA in your area (their addresses are listed in the Socialist Directory on page 22), or you can order a bundle to be sent to you directly by sending in the coupon

on page 23. This week we received requests for new bundles from readers in Clint, Tex., and in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD	LAST WEEK	%
Pittsburgh	350	527	151	
St. Louis	325	395	122	
Milwaukee	25	30	120	
Detroit	400	441	110	
Atlanta	500	536	107	
Bellingham	30	32	107	
Oakland/Berkeley	800	810	101	
Washington, D.C.	400	403	101	
Chicago	700	700	100	
Columbia, Mo.	25	25	100	
Dallas	10	10	100	
Indianapolis	50	50	100	
Nashville	70	70	100	
Philadelphia	400	400	100	
Raleigh, N.C.	5	5	100	
State College, Pa.	10	10	100	
Logan	30	29	97	
Lower Manhattan	500	469	94	
Ann Arbor	35	32	91	
Twin Cities	350	316	90	
Lawrence, Kans.	13	11	85	
Seattle	425	360	85	
L.A. (West Side)	350	287	82	
San Diego	325	260	80	
L.A. (Central-East)	350	271	77	
Portland	325	249	77	
Brooklyn	450	324	72	
Cleveland	350	248	71	
Santa Barbara	25	16	64	
Houston	500	304	61	
Tuscaloosa	10	5	50	
Upper West Side (N.Y.)	475	218	46	
San Francisco	525	225	43	
Denver	450	175	39	
Huntsville	20	7	35	
Boston	700	218	31	
Geneseo, N.Y.	25	3	12	
TOTAL SOLD				
LAST WEEK	10,000	8,471		85

Los Angeles socialists arrested selling papers

LOS ANGELES—Municipal authorities here are attempting to infringe political rights by limiting sales of *The Militant*.

Stu Singer, organizer of the West Side L.A. branch of the Socialist Workers Party, was arrested recently for selling *The Militant* at the L.A. International Airport.

Singer was handcuffed for several hours and is now free on \$125 bail.

Young Socialist Alliance member Jane Harris was issued a ticket for selling *The Militant* to motorists at a gas line in Santa Monica.

Both are charged under Santa Monica and Los Angeles laws against selling without a license.

In response to the legal briefs filed by Harris and Singer, the L.A. city attorney has already added another charge against Singer, while the Santa Monica city attorney is threatening to add a charge of interfering with traffic against Harris.

The L.A. city attorney claims that selling *The Militant* is a commercial—not political—activity. However, the four or five plainclothes cops who arrested Singer seemed to understand that he was not selling the *Los Angeles Times*.

The cops questioned Singer about his "communist affiliations" and remarked while thoroughly searching him that they hoped he was carry-

ing illegal drugs so he could be charged with a felony.

As of April 29 both cases are awaiting rulings by the judges on demurrers filed for the defendants. The demurrers charge that the laws violate constitutionally protected free speech when applied to sales of a political newspaper.

In Santa Monica the city will not issue a permit to sell *The Militant* on the streets, while the L.A. department of airports has its own Catch-22. The department claims that one company, Host Incorporated, has been granted a monopoly on sales at the airport. But Host refuses to carry *The Militant* on its newsstands.

The fight for socialist democracy:

Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition.
Edited by George Saunders. Monad Press.
Distributed by Pathfinder Press. New York,
1974. Paper \$3.95.

By Dave Frankel

The spirit of defiant insurrection that marked the overthrow of tsarism in Russia and the establishment of the first socialist government in the world in 1917 is alive and growing in the Soviet Union today. This spirit is not to be found in the Kremlin, where expensive gifts, narrow-minded complacency, and counterrevolutionary politics make Richard Nixon feel right at home.

Rather, it is to be found in Siberian prison camps, in "special" psychiatric hospitals, and wherever those standing up to the bureaucratic tyranny of Stalinism come together. It is a spirit that shines throughout the pages of this collection of writings from the Soviet dissident movement.

The hatred of privilege and oppression, which is an essential attribute of revolutionary fighters, leaps out from the pages again and again.

A young woman, part of an underground group of antibureaucratic communists, is asked by the judge at her trial what their program would be if they had power. "First, we would send you out to work," she responds.

Valentyn Moroz, a fighter against the oppression of the Ukrainian people, who is now being held in a ward for the criminally insane in Vladimir prison, says to his persecutors: "It has become evident that instead of intimidating people, you have



Left Oppositionists at exile colony in Siberia demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik revolution. The year is apparently 1928. Banner at right, with portraits of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims, 'Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.'

Books

aroused their interest. You wanted to extinguish the fire, but instead you added fuel to the flames. Nothing has contributed so much to stimulating political life in the Ukraine as your repressions.

"That golden age when all of life was forced to conform to official patterns has disappeared never to return. Today there is culture outside the ministry of culture and philosophy outside the journal *Voprosy filosofii* [Questions of Philosophy]. Now there will always be phenomena that appear in the world without official sanction, and with each year this stream will grow."

The confidence expressed by Moroz and others is not without foundation. The death of Stalin in 1953 marked a new stage in Soviet political life, and nothing the bureaucracy has done since then has been successful in stifling the dissident movement.

A historic movement

The reason for the resilience and tenacity of the oppositional elements in the Soviet Union lies not just in the moral qualities of the dissidents. It is a reflection of the objective consequences of bureaucratic rule.

This is explained in an appeal for gradual democratization addressed to the Soviet party leaders by Andrei Sakharov, Roy Medvedev, and Valery Turchin that appears in this volume.

"As a consequence of the increased size and complexity of economic systems," says their appeal, "the problems of management and organization have moved to the forefront. These problems cannot be resolved by one or several persons holding power and 'knowing everything.' These problems demand the creative participation of millions of people on all levels of the economic system. They demand the broad interchange of information and ideas."

As the Soviet working class grows in culture and self-confidence, the rule of the bureaucracy becomes ever more intolerable. The Stalinist parasites hold back the growth of the economy, choke all avenues of political life, and stifle creativity. In that atmosphere, it is no wonder that the bureaucrats have noted an increase in drunkenness, cynicism, and religion.

The dissident movement holds out the alternative perspective of political struggle against the dead end of bureaucratic rule. George Saunders, the edi-

tor of this collection of writings, explains:

"The historic place of the oppositional elements that have developed in the Soviet Union, for all their disarray and loose organization, was described rather aptly by Andrei Amalrik, 'You must keep in mind that it is the first opposition of any kind, outside the inner circle of the party, since Stalin triumphed over Trotsky.'

"Grigorenko [a dissident leader] was clearly aware of the potential significance of their work. 'Isn't it true,' he asked, 'that Lenin, together with a small group of intellectuals, helped make our revolution? That's why it is possible that a small group could help make another revolution someday.'"

Extent of opposition

Samizdat is a Russian term coined by post-Stalin dissidents to designate the uncensored material—usually typed manuscripts—that circulates clandestinely throughout the Soviet Union. Samizdat—meaning "self-publishers"—is a parody of the official term, Gosizdat, the acronym for State Publishers.

Although the name is new, the practice is as old as censorship. The extent of samizdat circulation is indicated by the testimony of Ivan Yakhimovich in a 1968 letter protesting the persecution of young dissenters.

Yakhimovich, who was later to spend two years in an asylum after being declared "psychologically irresponsible," said, "Let *Novy Mir* again print the works of A. Solzhenitsyn. Let G. Serebryakova publish her *Sandstorm* in the USSR and E. Ginzburg her *Journey into the Whirlwind*. Anyway, they are known and read; it's no secret."

"I live in the provinces where, for every electrified home, there are ten unelectrified, where in the winter the buses can't get through, and the mail is late by whole weeks. If information has reached us on a broad scale, you can well imagine what you have done, what kind of seeds you have sown throughout the country."

Yakhimovich's estimate is backed up by the geographical breadth of the dissident movement. Protests, arrests, local samizdat journals, and accounts of local struggles and repressions have been seen in Ukraine, in the Baltic countries, in Siberia, in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, as well as in Leningrad and Moscow.

The *Chronicle of Current Events*, one of the main samizdat publications, appeared bimonthly with a few exceptions for almost five years, from April 1968 through 1972, despite a concerted campaign by the Soviet secret police to stamp it out.

The 'neo-Leninists'

Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition focuses on the "neo-Leninist" or "neo-Bolshevik" section of the dissident movement—that section of the movement that characterizes itself as socialist and that accuses the bureaucracy of perverting the genuine tradition of the October revolution.

For understandable reasons, this current in the dissident movement has been largely ignored in the capitalist press. However, Saunders points out in his introduction that even scholars hostile to Marxism have been forced to admit that most of the dissidents see Stalinism as a distortion of the revolution rather than as a legitimate manifestation of Marxism. He cites the breaking up of large neo-Marxist youth groups in Gorky, Samara, Saratov, and Leningrad in the last few years.

Voices of the Soviet Opposition

One of the foremost representatives of this neo-Leninist current is former major general Pyotr Grigorenko. Grigorenko is currently confined in a psychiatric prison for a condition that, according to the official psychiatric report, is "characterized by the presence of reformist ideas, in particular for the reorganization of the state apparatus."

The late Bolshevik writer Aleksei Kosterin was another of the main leaders of the neo-Leninists. Kosterin, who joined the Bolshevik Party in 1916 and fought in the civil war, was a living link with the revolutionary past for many of the younger dissidents.

Although Kosterin was never a member of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, he spent 17 years in Stalin's death camps. Kosterin's funeral in November 1968 became the occasion for an open meeting of dissidents, and the speeches given there are included in this collection.

Grigorenko, who compiled the speeches at this event, wrote, "To keep one's faith in the ideals one chose to serve in early youth, to keep them 'right up to the gravestone' and to keep them in spite of ordeals that are terrifying even to recall, let alone to survive—it is not given to many to do this."

Revolutionary continuity

This sense of the importance of ideas and ideals is a continuing theme among the dissidents, as is the importance of human dignity and of belief in people. Grigorenko speaks of Kosterin's "faith that people are meant to walk the earth with their heads held high, not to crawl before the power of money or before an 'authority' or before the powers that be."

According to one of the participants in his funeral, Kosterin had explained that it was only after his imprisonment in Siberia "that all the scales finally fell from my eyes. Only there did I finally understand that in our country Marxism-Leninism had been buried, and the Leninist party had been annihilated."

The Left Opposition

But the Left Opposition headed by Leon Trotsky fought the Stalinist bureaucracy from the beginning. The greatest strength of this book is that it brings to life the connection between the Trotskyist opposition of the 1920s and 1930s and the new dissident movement. This revolutionary continuity is expressed most vividly and most movingly in the "Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist," printed in this book in English for the first time.

These memoirs, completed in the late 1960s, are the account of an anonymous member of the Left Opposition. The author served in the Red Army in the civil war, was imprisoned in the 1930s, and was released to serve again in the army following the Nazi invasion in June 1941. He was confined to the camps once again in 1949, where he remained until the massive strikes following Stalin's death forced the dismantling of the camp system.

This anonymous Bolshevik explains how he saw the fight against Stalin. "The left wing of the Russian Communist Party," he writes, "led by L. D. Trotsky, was the representative of the interests of the city proletariat, the rural poor, and the agricultural workers. The Left Opposition proposed a plan for the industrialization of the country, which flowed from the vital need to transform Russia technologically and improve the standard of living of the workers and peasants. The Left Opposition called on the party to render direct assistance to the world proletariat in the effort to establish throughout the world the power of the proletariat and peasantry—Soviet power."

Looking back on his life, he says, "Yes, we carried our idea of the world socialist revolution through great and frightful experiences. But neither the taiga, nor the tundra, nor our difficult life with its icy breath broke our will to struggle, to the end, giving up our lives.

"Many of us fell in that struggle. But we placed our hopes in other generations that would come; and they will come, not only in our country but in all countries of the world, to carry the torch of world revolution proudly on into every country of the world without exception, to every people that lives on our planet."

And in fact a new generation has begun once again to look to socialism for solutions to humanity's problems. This is hardly surprising. As Grigorenko explained in an open letter to the Conference of Communist parties in Budapest in 1968, "The Communist ideal for social organization lives in the dreams of humanity on a much broader scale than the teachings of Marxism. And naturally Marxism, as the scientific expression of humanity's dream, cannot disappear just because there has been an unsuccessful attempt at the realization of that dream."

However, the new generation of rebels, both inside the Soviet Union and in the advanced capitalist countries, wants a banner untarnished with the crimes of Stalin. Only the Trotskyist movement—the genuine continuator of the Bolshevik tradition—provides this banner.

This anthology contains a powerful report by an eyewitness on the resistance and extermination of the Trotskyists at Vorkuta in the 1930s, as well as the memoirs of Aleksandra Chumakova. Chumakova was a member of the Soviet Communist Party in the 1930s. Her husband was a member of the Left Opposition, and she spent 23 years in the Stalinist prison camps.

Trotskyism in USSR

An example of the type of discussion on Trotsky among younger dissidents that appears in samizdat is also given. The volume concludes most appropriately with an appendix containing the section of the *Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* on the Soviet Union.

This basic programmatic document of the Fourth International, written in 1938, points out that Stalin's purges were all conducted under the banner of a struggle against Trotskyism. "If we are to ex-



Pyotr Grigorenko (left) and Ivan Yakhimovich, prominent figures in left wing of Soviet opposition.

amine 'Trotskyism' as a finished program, and, even more to the point, as an organization," it says, "then unquestionably 'Trotskyism' is extremely weak in the USSR. However, its indestructible force stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class.

"The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy—that is precisely what from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique constitutes 'Trotskyism.' It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International."

A major publishing event

The rise and continuing activity of an anti-Stalinist opposition inside the USSR is a development of historic importance. And the publication in the U.S. of the writings of the pro-Marxist wing of this movement is a major event in its own right.

The value of this book is multiplied by the outstanding job done by George Saunders in explaining the context of the various samizdat statements and the broader developments within the Soviet dissident movement. Saunders's introduction is the first overall explanation and survey of Soviet oppositional currents since the 1940s done from a Marxist point of view. That alone is worth the price of the volume.

The voice of the neo-Leninist oppositionists in the Soviet Union, with their slogan of "Leninism Yes! Stalinism No!" will prove to be a powerful force on the side of the revolutionary movement throughout the world. It comes through loud and clear in this book, and it should get the widest possible circulation.

Every person who wants to know what Stalinism is and about the fight against it should get a copy of this book.

Those who ask if Brezhnev and Kosygin represent socialism should be given this book.

And above all, every revolutionary who wants to understand the struggle in the Soviet Union today and the struggle of the Left Opposition in the 1920s and 1930s should read this book.

'Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist'

The following excerpt from 'Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist' describes the atmosphere in the USSR in 1928, at the time of Trotsky's exile to central Asia.

Approaching my home on Malaya Bronnaya, I met an acquaintance. He was a philistine, of which there were many in those days. They kept their noses clean. When it seemed to him that the Opposition was getting the upper hand, he would ingratiate himself with me and butter me up, dropping little phrases of sympathy, having in mind a soft spot for himself someday, with my help. This person was scared now. Looking around from side to side, he came up to me with great caution and whispered, "Don't tempt fate, your game is played out.

You better hide yourself somewhere or take off for the countryside. Times are bad. No telling what will happen."

Unfortunately he turned out to be right. Times were bad. All brave and honorable, free-thinking people who expressed their ideas openly about the barbarisms taking place in the party and in the country were removed from their jobs or demoted in rank or sent off to the hinterlands and put on the blacklists that were being prepared for mass repressions.

Arrests of Oppositionists were taking place throughout the country. Denunciations and slander became an everyday affair. People spied on one another and denounced each other not so much out of loyalty to the "powers that be" as out of fear that if they didn't denounce some-

one first, they would be denounced or they would be judged and condemned for not having denounced. . . . Many such people were sent off to prison. Such was the situation in the country. Treachery was called patriotism and villainy was called valor. For such qualities, prizes and medals were awarded. People began to be afraid of one another. Fear entered every home. It was dangerous to say hello to the wife of an arrested friend. If someone had denounced you on one day, the next day you were ground into the earth like a worm and the author of the denunciation was rewarded. Then somebody would denounce the informer and he would suffer the same fate. This period is now called "the period of mistrust and suspicion in relations between people."

Calendar

BROOKLYN

THE PORTUGUESE WARS IN AFRICA. Speakers: Malik Miah, Young Socialist Alliance; Omowale Clay, Committee for Freedom in South Africa; others. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

DENVER

DEFEND JOSE CALDERON! Speakers: Jose Calderon, state chairman, Colorado Raza Unida Party; Joel Houtman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

HOUSTON

HALT THE TERROR IN CHILE. Speakers: Tom Vernier, Socialist Workers Party; Bill Piscicchia, United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIALIST EDUCATION & ACTIVISTS CONFERENCE, MAY 10-12. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m.: The socialist view of Watergate. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee; Sat., May 11, 10 a.m.: Picket at the Chilean consulate (427 W. 5th St.); 2 p.m.: Marxism vs. terrorism and liberalism. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, SWP. Sessions at UCLA Mathematics & Sciences Bldg.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor of California; Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., May 11, 5 p.m., refreshments; 6 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., program. Workmen's Circle Cultural Center (1619 S. Robertson Blvd.)

Sun., May 12, 11 a.m.: Young Socialists for Rodriguez workshop. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica; 1 p.m.: beach party. Donation: \$2 for conference; \$4 for banquet; \$5 for both. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialists for Rodriguez. For more information call (213) 483-0357.

NEW YORK CITY

PICKET LINE AT SOVIET AIRLINE TO DEMAND RELEASE OF PYOTR GRIGORENKO. Tues., May 7, 5 p.m. Corner of 45th St. & Fifth Avenue. Ausp: American Solidarity Coalition.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE COUP IN PORTUGAL AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION. Speaker: Tony Thomas, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE HEART KIDNAPPING: WHY REVOLUTIONISTS OPPOSE TERRORISM. Speaker, Claire Moriarty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 20th C.D. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA
REPRESSES IN LATIN AMERICA. Panel discussion. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 545-4316.

PORTLAND

THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION. Speakers: John Lemon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state superintendent of public instruction; others. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY 10-11. Fri., May 10, 8 p.m.: Women's liberation & the labor movement. Speaker: Linda Jenness, staff writer for The Militant; Sat., May 11, 10:30 a.m.: Genocide against the Indians. Speaker: Joe Henry. 3 p.m.: Dissidence in the USSR. Speakers: Ed Jurenas, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.; Bill Onasch.

CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Sat., May 11. Speakers: Linda Jenness, staff writer for The Militant, 1972 SWP presidential candidate; Jane Van Deuseen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota. 5:30 p.m., refreshments; 6:30 p.m., dinner; 7:30 p.m., program. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$5 for entire weekend; \$1 per session or campaign program; \$3 for dinner and campaign program only. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

'Zebra'

Continued from page 9

tended as a show of force to intimidate the Black community and generate a racist hysteria by playing on the fears of whites. The string of unsolved shootings merely provided a pretext.

Another factor is undoubtedly Alioto's sagging campaign for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. (Latest polls show he has slipped from second to third place, behind Democratic front-runners Edmund Brown Jr. and Robert Moretti.) He may well have ordered the "Zebra" search as a grandstand play for the white racist "law-and-order" vote.

Since the dragnet was ruled unconstitutional, Alioto's headline-hunting has grown even more bizarre. He broke off a campaign tour to take part in a mysterious 3 a.m. meeting that he implied could lead to a breakthrough on the case. He also alleged that there have been 80 "Zebra" killings throughout California since 1971.

Even California's notoriously right-wing attorney general, Evelle Younger, said Alioto had gone "overboard," while

an Oakland police spokesman said, "We don't know what the hell the mayor is talking about."

In the meantime, two other victories have been won by the Black community. "Inciting to riot" charges were dropped against Yvonne Golden, Black teacher activist. The board of education had been trying to railroad her to jail over an incident at a board meeting where the presence of a gang of uniformed Nazis had provoked a scuffle.

In addition, Popeye Jackson, leader of the United Prisoners Union, succeeded in having his parole reinstated by the California Adult Authority. The Authority had threatened to revoke his parole on the basis of alleged narcotics possession—a charge on which the courts had already found Jackson innocent. The day of his hearing, 200 supporters marched in the rain outside San Quentin's main gate.

Jackson's victory was especially important in light of the campaign the government has attempted to launch against prisoner and ex-prisoner organizations, based on the alleged roots of the terrorist Symbionese Liberation Army in the prison reform movement.

...AIM

Continued from page 24

for a delay in the trial. When the three defense attorneys said they would not continue, Bottum ordered Roubideaux jailed and suspended the other two lawyers, Jack Pratt and David Allen, from further participation in the trial.

The following day, Pratt and Allen were reinstated. Roubideaux, an Indian, notes the racism of the judge's action. All three attorneys refused to continue the trial, but Bottum jailed only the Indian.

The next day, about 50 Indians and white supporters refused to stand when Judge Bottum entered the courtroom. Bottum ordered the courtroom cleared, and police removed the spectators, who remained nonviolent. Some of the spectators were carried and others were dragged.

That set the stage for the April 30 courtroom police riot.

Again Bottum entered and again no one stood.

"They didn't have any respect for Judge Bottum because he didn't have any respect for their attorney," observes Roubideaux.

Standing when a judge enters a courtroom is not required by law, Roubideaux says, but is only meant to show respect. For example, a trial of Wounded Knee defendants in a federal court in Sioux Falls, a few blocks away from Bottum's court, is now in progress and in that case the judge does not require people to stand.

But Bottum ordered the courtroom cleared anyway. He left and defendants and spectators waited for two hours.

In charged 24 members of the state tactical police squad.

"They came in swinging their clubs," said Roubideaux. "They were like animals."

Roubideaux said that the police could have carried the spectators from the court peacefully as they had several days before.

But that wasn't their purpose.

Roubideaux says the defense has a witness from the American Lutheran Church who stood outside in the hallway and heard the cops talking before they stormed the courtroom. According to the witness, some of the comments were: "Let's go in and crack their heads," "Let's go in and get them," and "Let's beat those Indians out of there."

The police charged in, heading straight for the defense table, and shoved and beat defendant Dave Hill, who was standing there.

Others were also attacked. Some picked up chairs to defend themselves.

One chair crashed through a window. Supporters outside tried to gain entrance to the courthouse. Some were repulsed.

Candy Hamilton, a member of the Sioux Falls defense committee, saw Hill as he was carried from the courthouse. "His face was covered with blood," she said. "Another person had a deep gash on his head. Some had rib injuries."

Five persons are in jail, including two on felony charges, Roubideaux said. A defense representative has urged that telegrams expressing outrage and protesting the police assault be immediately sent to Judge Joseph Bottum, Minnehaha County Courthouse, Sioux Falls, S.D. 57102.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles—City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 292-3289.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Kegler, 1563 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

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ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428

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INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

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IOWA: Iowa City: YSA, c/o IMU, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045

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Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781

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MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

Paterson: YSA, P.O. Box 1532, Paterson, N.J. 07509.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (615) FR9-0289.

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LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Banquet

SATURDAY, MAY 11. Refreshments, 5 p.m.; dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Speakers: OLGA RODRIGUEZ, SWP candidate for governor; DAN STYRON, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Donation: \$4. WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CULTURAL CENTER, 1619 S. ROBERTSON BLVD. For reservations or more information call (213) 483-1512.

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Twin Cities Socialist Educational Conference May 10-11

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 8 p.m.: 'Women's liberation and the labor movement.' Speaker: LINDA JENNESS, staff writer for The Militant, 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate; SATURDAY, MAY 11, 10:30 a.m.: 'Genocide against the Indians.' Speaker: JOE HENRY. 3 p.m.: 'Dissidence in the USSR.' Speakers: ED JURENAS, SWP candidate for Congress, 5th C.D.; BILL ONASCH.

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Four years after the Kent State massacre

By NANCY BROWN

May 4 marks the fourth anniversary of the Kent State massacre, the day the Ohio National Guard opened fire on peaceful antiwar demonstrators. Four students were killed.

Contrary to the hopes of former governor James Rhodes, former attorney general John Mitchell, and Richard Nixon, the American people have not forgotten the deaths of these four young people, or the brutal killings that followed of two Black students at Jackson State in Mississippi.

Instead, the Watergate revelations have opened everyone's eyes to the bloody methods used by the capitalist

Nancy Brown is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio.

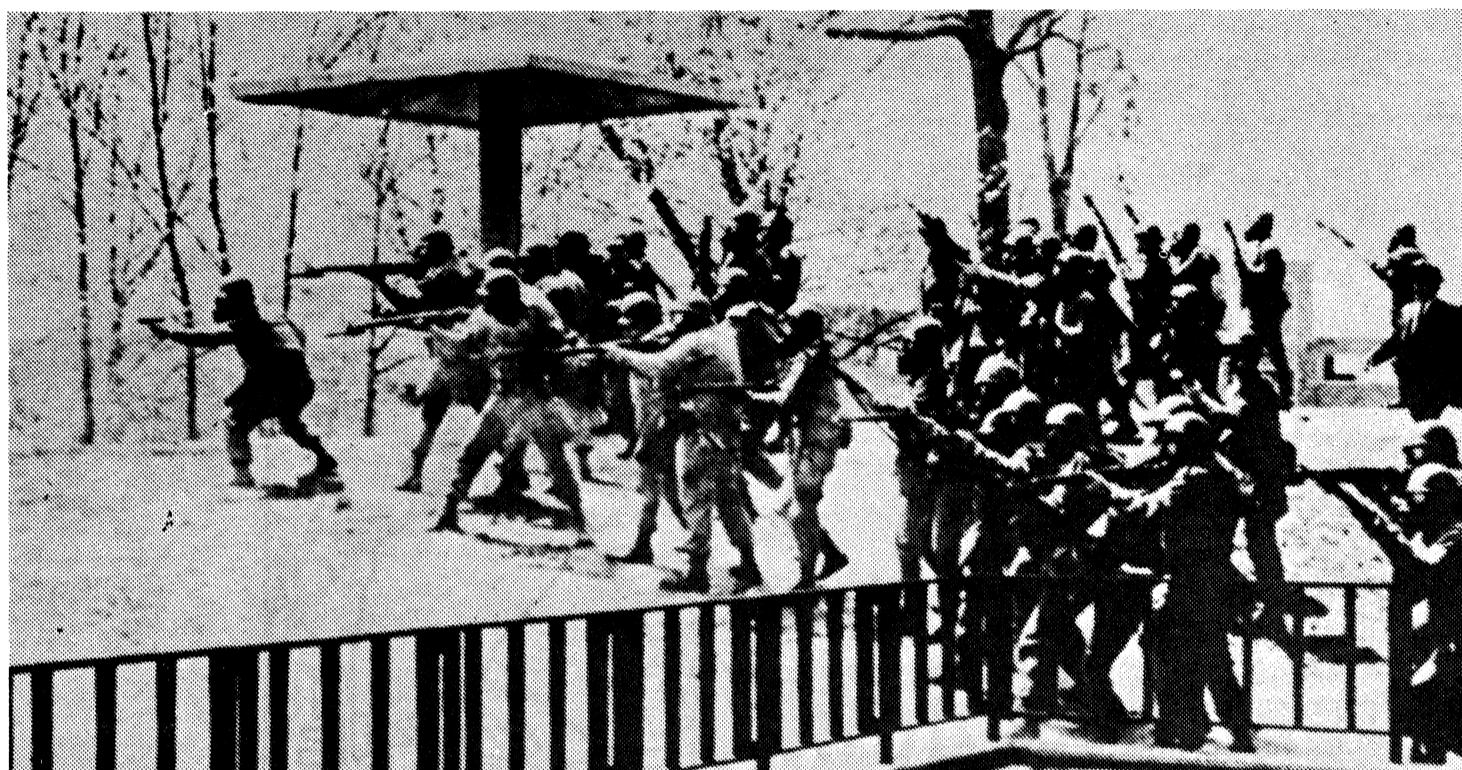
rulers of this country in their attempts to suppress protest movements here and around the world.

The Kent State students were demonstrating against the genocidal war in Southeast Asia. The May 4 killings—coming right after Nixon's invasion of Cambodia—touched off the most massive student strike in history.

It was Nixon's fear of that May 1970 upsurge that led him to conspire with other government officials to draw up the "Huston spy plan." We now know that the White House plotted against the antiwar movement and tried to intimidate its supporters.

We also know that the FBI waged a deadly campaign against the Black liberation movement, a campaign aimed at preventing the rise of a Black "messiah." This FBI plot raises many questions about the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and many Black Panthers.

After seeing how the police killed Black activists, after seeing how the U.S. government slaughtered and maimed hundreds of thousands of



Ohio National Guard fires at Kent State students on May 4, 1970

Vietnamese, who can seriously doubt that Nixon could resort to the same methods in the hopes of crushing the antiwar movement on the campuses?

Indeed, right after the Kent State shootings, the Ohio authorities, in cooperation with federal officials, launched a cover-up of the entire event.

Governor Rhodes set up a grand jury that indicted the victims of the Guard attack—students and professors—and absolved the true criminals.

Finally, when the government realized it couldn't make these outrageous charges stick, John Mitchell, who was attorney general, closed the case altogether. It took the Watergate events to force the story into the open again.

But the new grand-jury indictments

of eight national guardsmen still leave the big criminals in this case free.

What about James Rhodes, who made deliberately inflammatory statements at Kent State the day before the shootings, calling the students "worse than the brownshirts"? Rhodes is walking around free today, and is even running for reelection!

What about Attorney General William Saxbe, former senator from Ohio and close ally of Rhodes? Saxbe has been outspoken in opposing the reopening of the Kent State case. What is he afraid an impartial investigation might find?

What about John Mitchell, who used the Justice Department to frame up antiwar and Black activists, but refused to carry out a federal investigation of the Kent State shootings?

And what about Richard Nixon himself? What role did the White House play in the instructions eventually handed down to the Ohio National Guard?

Despite all the questions that remain unanswered in this case, the Watergate committed in the Senate, and the other congressional bodies investigating Watergate, have never seen fit to hear witnesses about Kent State. Nor have they shown any interest in the other crimes of the government against Blacks, socialists, and other dissenters.

All those who believe in justice should support the efforts of the families and friends of the slain Kent students to unravel the cover-up in this case and bring the real criminals to trial.

Cops attack Indians in Sioux Falls courtroom

By GREG CORNELL

Club-swinging riot police stormed a circuit courtroom in Sioux Falls, S.D., April 30 in a vicious attack on Indian defendants and courtroom spectators.

The police attack was unprovoked, Ramon Roubideaux, counsel for the American Indian Movement (AIM), told *The Militant*.

AIM leaders Russell Means and Vernon Bellecourt termed the assault "a police riot."

Roubideaux said in a telephone interview that police were called after spectators in the courtroom, including 16 Indians, refused to stand when Circuit Judge Joseph Bottum entered.

Bottum is presiding over the trial of five persons, four of them Indians, who face state riot charges following

a demonstration in Custer, S.D., on Feb. 6, 1973. That demonstration occurred after a white man killed an Indian.

The Custer protest preceded by several weeks last year's seizure of Wounded Knee. Since then the government has been attempting a wholesale frame-up of Indians in order to destroy the American Indian Movement.

Roubideaux called the April 30 club-swinging assault "incredible."

Two Indians were beaten unconscious. One, Dave Hill, who is a defendant, is hospitalized in serious condition, Roubideaux said. He may lose his sight in one eye. Another Indian, Ted Means, is also reported to be seriously hurt.

Roubideaux said he will make a motion seeking dismissal of the case or a mistrial. He said he will also move that Judge Bottum disqualify himself from the case.

The events leading up to the police assault are as follows:

Five days before, on April 25, Roubideaux was found in contempt of court by Judge Bottum and sentenced to a day in jail and a \$100 fine after he refused to continue with jury selection.

Roubideaux had been asking for a continuance of about two days until the South Dakota Supreme Court could rule on a defense request for more preemptory challenges to jurors.

Bottum has granted the defense only 10 such challenges. Roubideaux was

asking for 50 challenges, or 10 for each defendant. Had the defendants been tried separately, each would have gotten 10 challenges.

A preemptory challenge allows the prosecution or the defense to excuse a prospective juror without any show of cause. The defense points out that jury selection is critical. They say a survey shows that 60 percent of South Dakotans are prejudiced against Indians.

The defense has also asked the state high court to allow two other attorneys besides Roubideaux to question prospective jurors. They also want to get a daily trial transcript, which Bottum has refused.

Bottum denied the defense request

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